ORIGINAL JOURNALS

OF THE

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

1804-1806

IN SEVEN VOLUMES AND AN ATLAS

VOLUME SEVEN

Journals of Charles Floyd and Joseph Whitehouse;
Appendix; Index

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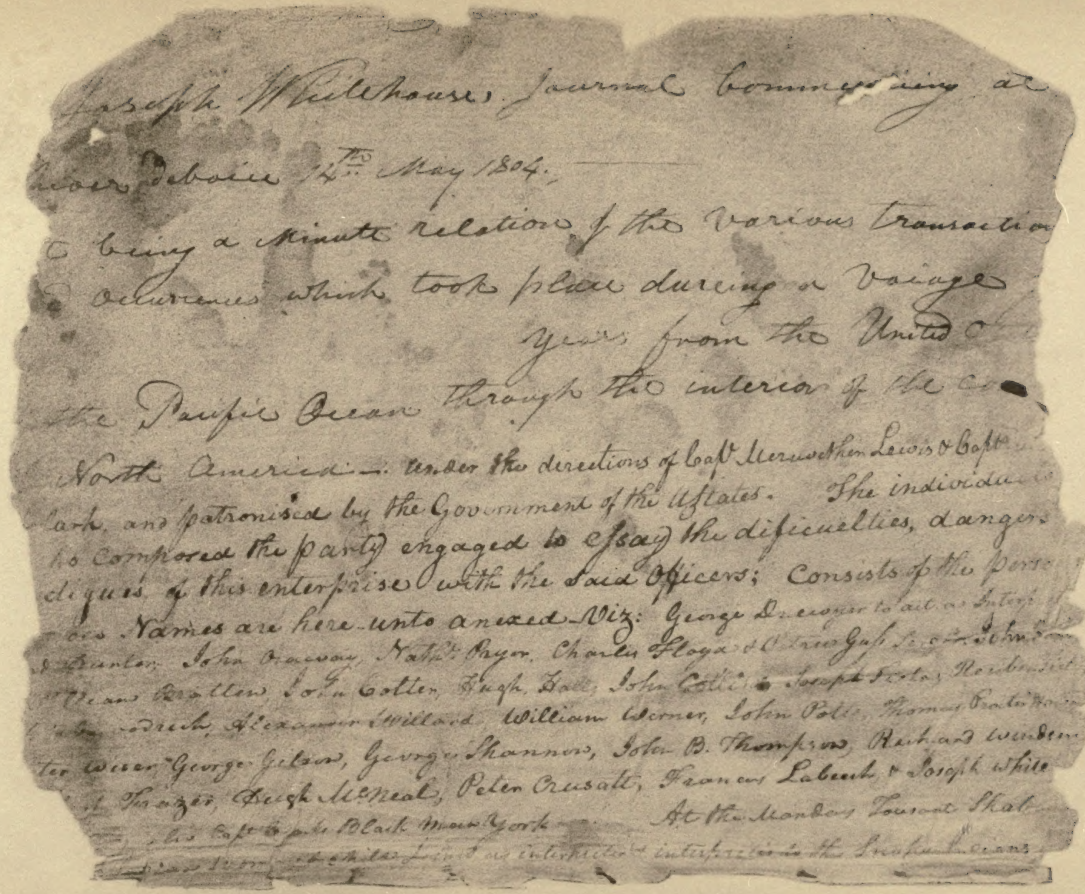

First Page of Whitehouse Journal, showing handwriting of both Clark and Whitehouse.

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ORIGINAL JOURNALS

OF THE

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

1804-1806

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS
in the Library of the American Philosophical Society and
by direction of its Committee on Historical Documents

TOGETHER WITH

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL OF LEWIS AND CLARK
from other sources, including Note-Books, Letters, Maps, etc.,
and the Journals of Charles Floyd and Joseph Whitehouse

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED IN FULL
AND EXACTLY AS WRITTEN

Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.
Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," etc.

VOLUME SEVEN

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1905

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CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

To

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Upon the Hundredth Anniversary of the Departure of the Trans-Mississippi Expedition of Lewis and Clark, this first publication of the Original Records of their "Winning of the West" is most respectfully dedicated

MADISON, WISCONSIN
May 14, 1904

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Blank Indian Vocabulary (text cut) 408

The Original Journal of Sergeant Charles Floyd

March 13–August 18, 1804

The ORIGINAL JOURNAL OF Sergeant CHARLES FLOYD[1]

CHAPTER I

FROM RIVER DUBOIS TO THE PLATTE

May 14–July 22, 1804

[Inside of last cover.]

CHA^{S} FLOYD Baught
at River Debaus 13th March 1804
Thomas M. Winn
Thomas M
Thamis Thomis
Thomas M. Winn
Elaxander Willard
George Shannon
William Leboach
Lasuness
Pall
Jo^{s} Whitehouse

[1] The original of Floyd's Journal is the property of the Wisconsin Historical Society — its press-mark being, M6. It is contained in a weather-beaten blank book, bound in marble boards, now much faded. The writing is upon fifty-three pages, each 5⅞ × 7½ inches in size, and runs in coarse hand the length of the page; in addition to these pages, there are entries upon the inside covers and upon fly-leaves. The greater part was written by Floyd, but there are also entries by Clark and another person whose hand the Editor does not recognize. These entries are indicated by us, as they appear. See also vol. i, pp. liv, lv, *ante*.

For facility in comparison, we have divided the journal into two chapters, according with the corresponding divisions in the journals of Lewis and Clark.— ED.

[Inside of front cover.]

Rec^{d} of Monsier Pier Shierker [Chouteau]
5 Carrtts of tobacko at 3^{s}/0^{d} p^{r}
peece ——[1] $2.50
Mayse Corn & Dolce Due —— 0.50

			$			
O Nail	2 Carrits		1	doll^{r}	P. Gass.	G. for T.
Decemb	Newman	1 D^{o}	50	Cents	Jos. Field.	G. for T.
8th	Shields	1 d^{o}	50			
1803						
	Gibson	1 d^{o}	50			
			$2.50	Cents		

March 13th 1804

Renued ouer Jouney began our voyage much feteged after yestersday worke

A Journal commenced at River Dubois —

monday may 14th 1804

Showery day Capt Clark Set out at 3 oclock P m for the western expidition the party consisted of 3 Serguntes and 38 working hands which maned the Batteow and two Perogues we Sailed up the missouria 6 miles and encamped on the N. side of the River

Tusday may 15th 1804

Rainey morni[n]g fair wind the Later part of the day Sailed som and encamped on the N. side some Land Cleared the Soil verry Rich.

wensday may 16th 1804

Set out eriley this morning plesent arrived at S^{t} Charles at 2 oclock P m one Gun Fired a Grait nomber of Friench peaple Came to see the Boat &^{c} this place is an old French village & Roman Catholieck Some amerrican setled in the Countrey around.

[1] He is reckoning by the New England shilling — six to a dollar. — Ed.

Thursday may 17th 1804

a fair day but Rainey Night

Friday may 18th 1804

we Lay at S[t] Charles

Saturday may 19th 1804

a Rainey day Capt Lewis Joined us

Sunday may 20th 1804

nothing worth Relating to day

monday 21th 1804

Left S[t] Charles at 4 oclk. P m Showerey encamped on the N Side of the River

Tusday may 22d 1804

Set out after a verry hard Rain and passed Bonnon [Bonhomme] Creek on the South Side of the River came 15 miles encamped on the N. side of the river at Cliftes Some Indianes Came to See us

wensday may the 23d 1804

we Set out at 6 oclock A m plesent day passed the wife of Osoge River three miles and half we pased the tavern or Cave a noted place on the South Side of the River 120 Long 20 feet in Debth 40 feet purpendickler on the South Side of the River high Cliftes one mile to a Creek Called tavern Creek and encamped on the South Side of the River our armes and amunition Inspected

Thursday may 24th 1804

nothin Remarkble Nothing ocord this day encamped on South Side

Friday may 25th 1804

Set out and Came 4 miles passed a Creek Called Wood River on the South Side the Land is Good & handsom the Soil Rich & high Banks encamped at a French village Called St Johns this is the Last Setelment of whites on this River

Saturday may 26th 1804

we Set out at 7 oclock A m 2 of our men was Sent with the Horses by Land to meat us that night hard thunder and Rain this morning passed a creek Called otter Creek encamped on the N Side

Sunday may 27th 1804

pased ash Creek on the South Side high Clifts on S Side arrived at the mouth of the Gasganade River at 5 ock P. m on the South Side encamped on an Island oppeset the mouth of the River which is a handsom Situation high hiles on the Left Side the Bottom is of Good quallity &c armes and ammunition Inspected.

monday may 28th 1804

rain Last night Severall men went out hunting &c one of them Killed a Deer

Tuesday may 29th 1804

Rain Last night Set out at 5 ock P m Came 3 miles p[a]ssed Deer Creek on the S. Side encamped all Night Jest above on the South Side on[e] man Lost hunting French men Left for him

Wedsday 30th 1804

Set out 7 ock after a verry hard Rain and thunder it Rained During the Gratist part of the day with hail passed one Creek on the South Side Called Rush Creek the Land is Low Bottom but Rich Soil 3 miles to River on the N Side Colled Littel muddy River the Land is Some what Like the Loer, it comes in opset an Isl[d] 2 miles to River on the South Side Colled painter River it Comes in opset to Is[d] in the midel of the missoura encamped South side at the mouth.

thursday may 31th 1804

one perogue Loaded with Bare Skins and Beav[er] and Deer Skins from the osoge village one osoge woman with them our hunters went out and Kild one Deer we Lay By all this day on acount of the Wind the Land is Good but Broken it Rained and Cleard up nothing worth Relating to day

Friday June 1st 1804

Set out come one mile past one River on the N Side called Big mudy River comes in opset the Louer pint of willow Island the Land is of Good quallity as aney I ever saw but Low two miles to Bear Creek on the South Side High Hill on the Loer Side it is about 30 yardes in weth at the mouth the day Clear wind from the west water strong Came 12 miles past several Isl[ds] encamped at [figure illegible] oclk at the mouth of the Grann osoge River

Saterday June 2d 1804

Lay By all this day for observations 4 men went out hunting Killed 4 Deer the day was Clear wind from the South the Land is of a Good quallity High hiles on the S. Side a good Lick on the South S. Side it is about one mile and half from the mouth of the Gran osoge Dow[n] the River a Butifull pint Betwen the two Rivers hills in the pints in about a mile Betwen the two the Second Bank is high at the mouth of this River at the pint a Butifull Is[d] Jest Below the pint it Lays in the midel of the Rivers our hunters Return how had Ben with our horses 8 day and Say the country is as Good as aney they ever saw armes inspected all in Good order the missorea is 875 yardes wide osage River 397 yardes wide we fell a nomber of trees at the pint for the porpas of oberservations.

Sunday June 3d 1804

Set out at 4 oclock P m the for part of the day Clear the Latter part Clouday with thunder and Rain wind from Es[t] Capt Lewis and G. Drureay went hunting Kild one Deer & Grown hog 4 miles to River murrow on the South Saide it is about 30 yardes wide and High Cliftes on the Loer Side of it 3 hundered yardes up the River Cliftes encamped at the mouth on the South Side ouer hunters Kild one Deer

monday June 4th

Set out Clear morning 2 miles By ouer Stersman Let the Boat Run under a lim and Broke our mast off 3 miles past a Creek on the South Side Called mast creek a Butifull a peas of Land as ever I saw walnut shoger tree ash and mulber trees Level land on both sides. this Creek is Clear watter about 30 yardes wide one mile past a River on the N. Side Called Sidder [Cedar] River the Land is Level and good 4 miles past Creek Called Zon Cer on the S. Sid at the Loer pint of Isld on the same 3 miles to a pint on the N Sd Called Batue De charr a prarie on the S Sid high Cliftes on the South Side ouer hunters Kild 8 Deer Strong water came 10 miles encamt on the South Side under the Cliftes

Tusday June 5th

fair day pased Lead Creek on South Side of the River. Littel Good woman Creek on the N. Side Came 9 miles past the Creek of the Big Rock 15 yads wide at a 11 oClock we met 2 French in 2 conoes lashed together Loaded with peltry &c they Came from 80 Leages up the Kensier [Kansas] River whare they wintered water Strong past Severall Isd Came 15 miles encamped on the N. Side at the uper pint of Isd the land is Good well timberd well waterd ouer hunters Kild one Deer

wensday June 6th 1804

Set out 6 oclock after ouer mast mended 4 miles past a Creek on the N Side Called Rock Creek on the Loer Side Blow Cliftes 3 miles past Sallin Creek on the South Side Cliftes on the Loer Side Water good the fore part of the day the Latter part Strong came 18 miles ouer hunters Kild one Deer encampet on the N Side

Thursday 7th June 1804

Set out 5 oclock Came 2 miles past Som [s]pringe Comes out of Clifts 2 miles past a Creerk on the N Side Called the River of the Big Devil one mile past a rock on the N. Side whare the pictures of the Devil and other things We Kild

3 Rattel Snakes at that Rock 5 miles to Creek on the N Side Called Good woman Creek Strong watter past severall Is^d George Druer Kild one Bar encampet at the mouth the Land is Good well timberd &c.

Friday June 8th

Set out erley this morning the day Clear wind from the west Came 5 miles past 2 Canoes Lasht to Gather Loaded with Bever Skins otter Skins from the Littel River mean thay ar 30 day coming from that place 5 miles past the mouth of the Big River mine it is about 100 and 50 yardes wide a butifull River on the South Side the Land is Good first Rate Land well timberd this River is navagbl for Som hundreds miles aperintley water Strong past Several Is^d Came 10 miles our hunters Kild 5 Deer encamped on the Loer pint of an Island on the South Side of the River

Saturday June 9th 1804

Set out after a verry hard Rain Last night the morning Clear wind from the Est Came 5 miles past the Praria of arrows on the South Side half m. past the mouth of arrow Creek on the South Side this Creek is 8 ya^ds wide this is a butifull Contry of Land the River at this place is 300 ya^ds wide the current Strong 3 mls past Black Bird Creek on the N Side high Hills on the Loer Side the Latter part of the day C[l]ouday with Rain maid 10 miles encampt on an Isd in the middel of the River

Sunday June 10th 1804

we imbarked at the yousel ouer [usual hour] and proseded on our Jorney 5 miles past a Creek Called Deer Lick Creek on the N Side 10 ya^ds wide the Land High

Delayed 1½ ouers three mls past the two Charlitons on the N. Side those Rivers mouth near togeathe the first 70 ya^ds wide the Next 100 ya^ds wide and navagable for Some Distance in the Cuntry halted and Capt Lewis Killed a Buck the Current is Strong a bout this place Came 12 miles past Severall Is^d ouer hunters Killed 3 Deer incamped on the South Side at a priara this priara is High and well waterd &c ouer hunters Kilded nothing

monday June 11th 1804

Day Clear wind from the N. West Lay By all Day on account of the wind the Latter part of the day Clouday ouer hunters Kiled 2 Bar & 2 Deer

Tuesday June 12 1804

we Set out at the Usial ouer the day Clear wind from the west Came 4 miles past a Creek on the S. Side Called *Plumb Creek* a bout 20 yds wide the timber in this Bottoms is Cotten wood 2 miles when we met 5 Cannoes from the Soux nations Loaded with peltry and Greece thay have been 13 mounthes up the missorea River Delayed ½ day with the French, Bought Some tallow of them ouer hunters Did not Rettern Last night one French man hiard to go with us up the missorea who can Speak the Difernt [languages] encamped on the N. Side the Land Good Bottom

wensday June 13th 1804

Set out at 6 oclock and Came 1½ miles past a Creek on the N. Side Calleded River missorea Just above the Creek a Large Praria of Good Land on the N Side at this Praria antient Missourue Indianes had a village at this place 300 of them were Killed by the Saukees in former times a fair day past the Grand River on the N. Side the Land is Level on Both Sides a handsom Prarie on the Loer Side of it water Strong past Several Isd Came 10 miles the Grand River is about 200 and 50 yds wide and Boates Can Go for Som hundreds of miles up it ouer hunters Killed yesterday and to day 1 Bar, 2 Deer encampted at the mouth of the Grand River on the N. Side of the River

Thursday June 14th 1804.

we Set out at the usuel ouer and proseded on our Jorney day Clear water Strong Came 3 miles met 2 Conoes with 3 French men and one Negro [*Mallatto*] from the Poncye Nations. they have ben up 3 years with the Indianes 2 of them is half preades of the poncas. past a Creek on the N.

Side Called the Snake Creek it is about 25 yds wide a noted place whare Indianes of Differnt nations Cross to Go to ware they Say that thar is hundreds of Snakes at this place ouer hunters killed one Deer encamped on the N Side of the River the Land is good about hear the Chief of the timber is Cotten wood.

Friday June 15th

we Set out at 5 oclock after much Feteaged of yesterdays worke pased a Creek on the South Side Calleded Indian Creek it is about 15 yards wide Good Level Land ouer hunters Killed 4 Bars and 3 Deer Strong water encampt on the N Side opset to antent old villag of Missures Indians but the Saukies beng two trobelsom for them was forst to move and take protections under the Gran ossags as they war Reduse[d] Small handsom a prarie as ever eney man saw the river is 3 miles wide hear

Saurday June 16th

we Set out at 8 oclock day Clouday with rain nothing Remarkeble to Day water verry Srong past one place whare the water Roles over the Sand with grait fall and verry Dangeris for Boats to pass past Severall Isl[d] maid 10 miles ouer hunters Did not Return Last night encamped on the N Side of the River the Land is Good hear and well timber[d]

Sunday June 17th

we Renued our Journey much fetegeued of yesterdays work Came one mil encamped for the purpos of maken ores for ouer Boat and make a rope for the pursos of towen on the North Side of the River ouer hunters Returned and Killed on[e] Bar one Deer and found a Stray Horse who had Been Lost for sometime nothing Remarkeble to day

Monday June 18th

Clouday with Rain and thunder and wind from the Est the Land at this Bottom is Good Land the timber is Cotten wood ouer hunters Killed one Bar 5 Deer nothing worth Relating

Tusday June 19th

Set out at 8 oclock day Clouday wind from the Est Sailed past a Creek on the South Side Calleded tabor Creek it is about 40 yards wide and Clear water beLow High Hills Good Land well timberd past Several Isds Strong water Came 13 miles encamped on the South Side of the River ouer hunters Did not Return Last night

Wensday June 20th 1804

Set out Clouday day Rain, Srong water past Several Isds Came 12 miles ouer Hunters Did not Return Last night encamped on an Isd in the middel of the River

Thursday June 21th

Set out at 7 oclock Clear day past 2 Creeks on the South Side Callede Deubau [Du Beau, *or* Eau Beau] Creeks thay com in opset the middel of Isd the water at this Isd is verry Strong the Land is Good and well timberd on the South Side the Land high that on the N. is Low Land the timber is Cotton wood water Strong past Several Isds Came 9 miles ouer hunters killed one Deer encamped on the South Side at the opper pint of Isd the Land is Low that on the N. is High Land.

Friday June 22

Set out at 7 oclock after a verry hard *Storm* [*][1] thunder and Rain wind from the West, proceeded on under a gentle Breeze from the N. W. passd [*] a Creek on the South Side Calleded the Littel Fire Creek it Comes in opset the middel of a Small Isd on the South Side Strong water Came 9 miles encamped on the Southe Side at a Prarie this Prarie is Called Fire on the N. Side Comes in a Creek Calleded the Big Fire Creek the Creek is about 50 yards wide and High Land

[1] Words between bracketed asterisks are in Clark's handwriting. — Ed.

Saturday June 23d

a Small Brese from the N. W Set out at 5. oclock day Couday Came 3 miles Landed on acount of the wind from the N. W. armes and amunition enspcted all in Good order Capt Clark went hunting Did not Return Last night but [he] Returnd erley in the morning Killed one Deer ouer Hunter Killed one Bear 4 Deer. [*] we continued on this Island all Day & night [*] they encamped on an Isd on the N Side

Sunday June 24th 1804

Set out at 5 oclock A. m. wind from the N. E. Sailed Day Clear passed a Creek on the South Side Called Hay Creek it is about 40 yards wide Clear water Land High and Good well timberd Delayed 2 ouers to Dry some meat Capt. Lewis [*] & my self [*] went hunting Kild one Deer [*] & a Turkey [*] passed a Creek on the North Side Called Charriton Creek it is about 30 yards wide passed a Creek on the Same Side Called the Creek of the Bad Rock it is not far below the other it is about 15 yards wide the Land is High and well timberd ouer Hununters Killed 8 Deer water Good made 13 miles encamped on the South Side the Land is Good first Rate Land, [*] On this pt. of the River we observe feeding on the Banks & the adjasent Praries imince Hurds of Deer, Bear is also plenty in the bottoms. [*]

Monday June 25th

we Set out at 8 oclock after the Fogue was Gon, [*] pass a Coal Mine on the South Side above a Small Island, a Small Creek below which takes its name from the bank of Coal, and large Creek at about one Mile higher up the river on the Same Side Called (un batteur La benne[1] River) [*] [†][2] passed several small Islands on the South side, some hard water, & camped on a small Island near the North Side Capt Lewis

[1] This is called Bennet and Benoit in Clark's journal; Coues identifies it (*L. and C.*, i, p. 32) as Mill Creek, Jackson Co., Mo. — Ed.

[2] Words between bracketed asterisks are, as previously stated, in Clark's handwriting; those between bracketed daggers are in another hand, which we fail to identify. — Ed.

killed a Rabit, R. Fields a Deer this evin^g^ our flanking party did not join us this evening (my hand is painfull)

*Tuesday June 26^th^*

we set out early proceeded on passed a Island on the South Side, back of this Island a large Creek coms in call'd Blue Water Creek (River Le Bléue) The Hills or High lands on the River which we passed last evening & this morning on L. S. is higher than usial from 160, to 180 feet. [†] encampt at the mouth of the Kansas River in the pint it comes in on the Southe Side

*wensday June 27^th^*

Lay By all this day ouer Hunters Killed 5 Deer

*Thursday June 28^the^*

Lay By all that Day the Kansas River is 200 30¼ Yards wide at the mouth the Land is Good on Booth Sides of thes Rivers and well timberd well waterd

Friday June 29

Set out at Half past 4 oclock P. m. from the Kansas River proseeded on passed a run on the South Side, at the mouth of Kansas River armes and amunition enspected all in Good order encampt on the N. Side Late in the evning

Saturday June 30^th^ 1804

Set out verry early this morning Saw a wolf on the Sind Bare passed the Littel River platte on the N. Side it is about 100 yards wide Clear water High Land on the Loer Side of it on this River it is Sayed that thare is a nomber of falls on it fitting for mills the land is Rolling campt on the South Side the Land is Low that on the N is the same.

Sunday July 1^th^ 1804

Set out Clear day passed Small Creek on the South Side Called Biscuit C. High Land passed a Creek on the S. Side Called Frog Tree Creek a Pond on the N S. Called the Same name Good water made 12½ miles camp^t^ on an Is^d^ near the South Side ouer Flanken party Did not Join us Last evning.

Monday July 2d

Set out verry early this morning passed on the Left of the Isd parque &c High butifule Situation on the South Side the Land indifferent Lands a Creek Comes in on the N Side called parkques Creek passed a creek on the N. Side called Turkey Creek High Landes came 10 miles campt on the N Side, on the South Side was a old French fort who had setled hear to protect the Trade of this nation in the valley the Kansas Had a village between tow pints of High Praria Land a Handsom Situation for a town

Tuesday July 3d

Set out verry erley this morning under a Jentel Breas from the South found a Stray Horse on the South Side how Had Ben Lost for Som time water verry Strong So Hard that we Could Hardley Stem it Came 10 miles Campt on the South Side the Land is verry mirey

Wensday July 4th 1804

Set out verry erley this morning passed the mouth of a Beyeu leading from a Lake on the N. Side this Lake is Large and was once the Bead of the River it reaches Parrelel for Several miles Came to on the South Side to Dine rest a Short time a Snake Bit Jo. Fieldes on the Side of the foot which Sweled much apply Barks to Coor [cure] and passed a Creek on the South Side a bout 15 yards wide Coming out of an extensive Prarie as the Creek has no name and this Day is the 4th of July we name this Independance Creek above this Creek the wood Land is about 200 yards Back of these wood is an extensive Praria open and High whigh may be Seen Six or Seven below saw Grat nomber of Goslins to day nearley Grown the Last mentioned prairie I call Jo. Fieldes Snake prarie Capt Lewis walked on Shore we camped at one of the Butifules Praries I ever Saw open and butifulley Divided with Hills and vallies all presenting themselves

Thursday July 5th 1804

Set out errley this morning Swam ouer Stray Horse a Cross the River to Join our other Horses prossed on for two miles

under the Bank of the old Kansas village formaley Stood in 1724 the couse of the Indians moving from this place I cant Larn but natreley Concluded that war has reduced thair nation and Compelled them to Retir further in to the Plaines with a view of Defending themselves and to operserve their enemey and to Defende them Selves on Horse Back encampt on the South Side

Friday July 6th 1804

Set out prossed under a Jentell Brees from the South west the water wase So [s]trong that we could Hardley Steem it Came 12 miles encampt at the mouth of a Creek on the South Side of the River Called Whipperwill Creek it is 15 yards wide

Saturday July 7th

Set out errley prosed along, passed some Strong water on the South Side, which Compelled us to Draw up by the Cord Clear morning verry warm Strong water Came 10 miles Camt on the N. Side

Sunday July 8th

Set out at Sun Rise Rain Last night with wind from the E. passed some Good Land to day and High passed a Creek on the N. Side it Cam in Back of Isla[n]d it is a Bout 70 Yards wide Called Nadawa Creek the Land is Good and well timberd Camt on the N. Side

Monday July 9th 1804

Set out erley this morning prosed on passed a Small Creek on the South Side Called monter Creek High Land Rain to day Sailed the Gratist part of the day passed a prarie on the South Side whare Seve[r]al French famileys had Setled and made Corn Some Years ago Stayed two years the Indians came Freckentley to See them and was verry frendley passed a Creek on the South Side Called wolf Creek it is about 60

yards wide the Land is Good water Strong made 10 miles encamt on the South Side Saw a fire on the N. Side thougt it was ouer flanken partey Sent ouer perogue over for them and when they got over Saw no fire Seposed it to be Indians fired ouer Cannon for ouer men

Tuesday July 10th

Set out when we Could See, about us, when we Came to the place it was ouer men which had Left us two days ago, much feteged had Lay down and fell asleap passed a Small Creek on the South Side Called pape Creek it Comes through Bottom Land it is Called after a man who by drawning his Gun out of the Boat Shot him Self passed Som Strong water Campt on the North Side the Land is good

Wendesday July, 11th, 1804.

Set out errley this morning prosed on passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Tarcio Creek it Comes in Back of a Isd on the N. Side Came to about 12 oclock P. m for the porpos of resting on[e] or two days the men is all Sick encamt on an Isd, on the Southe Side floos in Creek Called Granma mohug [Grand Nemahaw] Creek it is about 100 yards wide the Land is good and well timberd High and well Waterd this Creek Runs up and Heds near the River platt

Thursday July 12th

Som Hunters out on the No. Side those on the South Side not Return Last night ouer object in Delaying hear is to tak Some observations and rest the men who are much fategeued, armes and amunition enspected all in Good order

Friday July 13th

Set out erley in the morning prosed on our Jorney passed a Creek on the N. Side Called the Big Tarkuo River it is about 40 yads wide and verry mirey for Horses to Cross the Land is Low a verry hard Storm Last night from the N. E. which

Lasted for about one ouer proseded with a Small S[h]ouer of Rain wind fare Sailed all day Came 20½ miles Camt on a Sand Bare in the midel of the River a Small Shouer of Rain

Saturday July 14th 1804

Set out at day Lite Came one mile and ½ Came a Dredfulle hard Storme from the South which Lasted for about one ouer and half which Cosed us to Jump out and hold hir She Shipt about 2 Barrels of water Came one mile the wind fare Sailed, passed a Creek on the N Side Called Neeshba Creek it is about 40 yards wide the Land is Low encamt on the Southe Side

Sunday July 15th 1804

Set out at Six oclock A. m pased a Creek on the South Side Called Plumb Run water verry Strong passed a Creek on the South Side Called Nemahaw Creek it is about 30 yards wide the Land is High and Good encamt on the South Side.

Monday July 16th

we Set out verry early and prossed on the Side of a Prarie the wind from the South Sailed ouer Boat Run on a Sawyer Sailed all day made 20 miles passed Sevrall Isd Camt on the North Side

Tuesday July 17th 1804

Lay by all this day for to kill Som fresh meat Capt. Lewis & Go. Druger went out Hunting Drugher Killed 3 Deer the Land is prarie Land the Blufs puts in about 2 miles from the River and all prarie Land betwen which Runs up and Down for Som distance from 20 to 30 miles

Wendesday July 18th 1804

we Set out at Sun Rise the day Clear wind fair Sailed the Side of the Prarie Hear we toed for about 5 or 6 miles the

Elke Sine is [v]erry plenty Deer is not as plenty as it was below passed Som High Clifts on the South Side Which hase the apperence of Iron ore the Clay is Red passed a verry Strong pace of Water. Saw a Dog on the Bank Which we Sepose to be Indians had ben Lost this is the first Sine of Indians we have Saw Camptd on the South Side the Land is Low that on the N. Side is prarie Land

Thursday July 19th

we Set out errly this morning prosed on passed a Run on the South Side Has no name we Called Cherry Run the Land is High Cliefts and pore whare a Grate nomber of thos Cherres thay Gro on Low Bushes about as High as a mans hed Came 9 miles past Several Isd water Strong Campt on the South Side on a Small willow Isd near the South Side the Land on the N. is Low, Land that on the South is High prarie Land

Friday July 20th

Set out at 6 oclock proseded on passed he mouth of a Creek on the South Side Called Crys Creek it is about 35 yards wide it Comes in above Clifts oppset a willow Isd at this Clift thare is a fine Spring on the top of this Hill is oppen prarie passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Piggen Creek the Land is Low that on the South is High prarie Land passed Several Bad Sand Bares Campt on the South Side under a Large Hill

Satturday July 21th 1804

Set out at 4 oclock a m prossed on ouer Jouney Rain this morning wind fair Sailed passed the mouth of the Grait River Plate on the South Side it is much more Rappided than the missorea it is about from one mile to 3 miles wide the Sand Roles out and formes Large Sand Bares in the middel of the missorea up the Plate about one mile the Hilles of Prarie Land about 2 days and half up the Plate 2 nations

of Indians Lives vic The Souttoes the Ponney this River is not navigable for Boats to Go up it passed a Creek Called the [blank space in MS.] on the South Side it is about 20 yardes wide it Comes out of a Large Prarie Campt on the South Side

Sunday July 22d

Set out verry erley this morning prossed [proceeded] on in Hopes to find Some Wood Land near the mouth of this first mentioned River but Could not we prossed on about 10 miles at Lenth found Som on Both Sides of the River encampt on the North Side

CHAPTER II

FROM THE PLATTE TO OTO COUNCIL

July 23 – August 18, 1804

monday July 23^d 1804

WE Lay By for the porpos of Resting and take Som observations at this place and to Send for Som Indians Sent George Drougher and ouer Bowsman wo is aquainted with the nations nothing worth Relating to day

tuesday July 24^th

we mad Larg and Long f[l]ags] Staff and Histed it up Histed ouer Collars [colors] in the morning for the Reseptions of Indians who we expected Hear when the Rain and wind Came So that we wase forst to take it down Sent Some of ouer men out to Hunt Some ore timber for to make Some ores as the timber of that Coind is verry [s]Carse up the River Continued Showery all day

Wendesday July 25^th

Continued Hear as the Capts is not Don there Riting ouer men Returnd whome we had Sent to the town and found non of them at Home but Seen Some fresh Sine of them.

Thursday July 26^th

ouer men fineshed the oares nothing worth Relating except the wind was verry villant from the South Est

Friday July 27^th

Swam ouer Horses over on to the South Side on acount of the travilen is beter Set out at 12 oclock P. m prossed on under a Jentell Brees from the South Este Sailed made 10 miles encamt on the South Side at Prarie

Satturday July 28th

Set out verry erley this morning prossed on passed a Creek on the North Side Called Beaver Creek is about 20 yards wide the Land is Low that on the South is Prarie Land Rain the fore part of the day the Latter part Clear with wind from the North Est. made 10 miles Campt on the N. Side the Land is Low that on the South is High prarie Land ouer flanken partey Came with one Indian thay found on the South Side

Sunday July 29th

we Set out after we Dspashed the Indian and one of ouer men with him to bring the Rest of his party the Reasen this man Gives of His being with so small a party is that He Has not Got Horses to Go in the Large praries after the Buflows but Stayes about the Town and River to Hunte the Elke to seporte thare famileys passed the mouth of Boyers River on the N. Side it about 30 yards wide the Land is Low Bottom Land out from the River is High Hills Campt on the North Side at a prarie

monday July 30th

Set out verry erley this morning Cam 3 miles Sopt for the man whome we Had Sent with the Indian yesterday He has not Returnd Yet Sent 2 men out Hunting Did not Return Last night Campt on the South Side at prarie

Tuesday July 31th 1804

we Lay By for to See the Indianes who we expect Hear to See the Captains. I am verry Sick and Has ben for Somtime but have Recoverd my helth again the Indianes have not Come yet this place is Called Council Bluff 2 men went out on the 30th of July and Lost ouer horses

Wendesday august 1th 1804

Lay by all this day expecting the Indianes every ouer Sent George Drougher out to Hunt ouer Horses Sent one man Down the River to whare we eat Diner on the 28th of July to See if aney Indianes Had been thare He Returnd and Saw no Sigen of them

Thursday auguste 2d

Ouer men hough we had Sent after ouer Horses Returnd With them and Killed one Elke ouer men Killed 3 Deer to day the Indianes Came whou we had expected thay fired meney Guns when thay Came in Site of us and we ansered them withe the Cannon thay Came in about 2 hundred yardes of us Capt Lewis and Clark met them at Shakeing Handes we fired another Cannon thare wase 6 Chiefs and 7 men and one French man with them who has Lived with them for som yeares and has a familey with them

Friday august 3dth

the Council was held and all partes was agreed the Captens Give them meney presentes thes is the ottoe and the Missouries the Missouries is a verry Small nathion the ottoes is a verry Large nathion So thay Live in one village on the Plate River after the Council was over we took ouer Leave of them and embarked at 3 oclock P. m under a Jentell Brees from the South Est Sailed made 6 miles Campt on the South Side the Land Low, that on the N. prarie Land.

Satturday august 4th 1804

Set out erly this morning after the Rain was over it Rained Last night with wind and thunder from the N. W. it Lasted about an ouer prossed on the morning Clear passed a Creek on the South Side as it has no name and the Council was Held below it about 7 miles we Call it Council Creek or Pond this Creek Comes out of a Large Pond which Lays under the High prarie Hills the wood Land is not plenty hear ondley along the River Banks in places, passed Som bad Sand bares cnamt on the South Side a Large prarie that on the N. is prarie Land

Sunday august 5th

Set out erley this morning Cam 2 miles when a verry hard Storm of wind and Rain from the North Est it Lasted a bout 2 ouers and Cleard up I have Remarked that I have not heard much thunder in this Countrey Lightining is Com-

mon as in other Countreys a verry Large Snake was Killed to day Called the Bull Snake his Colure Somthing Like a Rattel Snake passed Severall Bad Sand bares made 16 miles Campt on the North Side at Som wood Land that on the South is wood Land

monday August 6th 1804

we Set out at a erley ouer this morning prossed on passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Soldiers Creek it Comes in Back of a Isld near the N. S. about 12 oclock Last night a villant Storm of wind and Rain from the N. W. Camt on the South Side the Land is Low that on the N. S. the Saim

Tuesday August 7th

Set out at 6 oclock A. m prossed on day Clear wind from the North west on the 4th of this month one of ouer men by the name of Moses B. Reed went Back to ouer Camp whare we had Left in the morning, to Git his Knife which he Had Left at the Camp the Boat went on and He Did not Return, that night nor the next day nor Night, pon examining his nap-Sack we found that he had taken his Cloas and all His powder and Balles, and had hid them out that night and had made that an excuse to Desarte from us with out aney Jest Case we never minded the Said man utill the 7th we Sent 4 men after him we expect he will make for the ottoe town as it is not mor than 2 days Jorney from whare he Run away from us Water Good made 16 miles Campd on the North Sid at Some Wood Land

Wendesday Augt 8th 1804

Set out this morning at the usele time day Clear wind from the N. W. prossed on passed the mouth of the Littel Soue River on the N. Side it is about 80 yards wide this River is navigable for Boates to Go up it for Som Distance in the Cuntrey and Runes parelel with the Missourie 2 miles above on a Sand Bare Saw Grait Nomber of Pelicans Capt Clark went out on the South Side and Jo Collines Killed on[e] Elke water Bad mad 12 miles Campd on the N. Side the Land is Low march Land that on the South is prarie Land

Thursday augt the 9th

Set out at 7 oclock a, m, after the fague was Gon which is verry thick in this Cuntrey Capt Clark and my Self went out on the South side passed a verry Bad place in the River whare the water is verry Shellow mad 17 miles Campd on the South Side at prarie

Friday augt the 10th

Set out at errley ouer this morning prosed on passed a bad Sand bare Which is verry Shallow made 23 miles Camped on a sand bare on the N. Side the Land on the S. S. is High Hilley Land

Satturday august 11th 1804

Set out after a verry hard Storm this morning of wind and Rain continued untill 9 oclock A m. and Cleard up prosed on passed a high Bluff whare the Kinge of the Mahas Died about 4 yeares ago the Hill on which he is berred is about 300 feet High the nathion Goes 2 or 3 times a year to Cryes over him Capt Lewis and Clark went up on the Hill to See the Grave thay histed a flage on his Grave as noner [an honor] for him which will pleas the Indianes, passed the mouth of a Creek on the South Side Called Waie Con Di Peeche or the Grait Sperit is Bad whare this Chief died and about 300 Hundred of his men with the Small pox this Chiefs name was the Black Bird made 15 miles Camped on the North Side

Sunday august 12th 1804

Set out at the usel time prosed on under a Jentel Brees from North Est Sailed day Clear passed Red Seeder Bluffs on the South Side made 16 miles Camped on a Sand bare in the middel of the River

Monday august 13th

Set out verry erley this morning prosed on under a Jentel Brees from the South-Est Sailed morning Clouday about 10 o.ck. it Cleared up we aRived at the Mahas village about 2 oclock P m Sent Som of ouer men to Se if aney of the natives was at Home thay Returnd found none of them at Home

Tuesday August 14th

Lay by for ouer men How we had Sent after the Desarter on the 7th thes Indians has not Live at the town Sence the Smallpoks was so bad abut 4 years ago thay Burnt thare town and onley live about it in the winter and in the Spring Go all of them in the praries after the Buflow and dos not Return untill the fall to meet the french traders thay Rase no Corn nor aney thing excep Som times thay Rase Som Corn and then the Ottoe nation Comes and Cuts it Down while thay are in the praries

Wendesday august 15th

Capt Clark and 10 of his men and my Self went to the Mahas Creek a fishen and Caut 300 and 17 fish of Difernt Coindes ouer men has not Returnd yet

Thursday august 16th

Capt Lewis and 12 of his men went to the Creek a fishen Caut 709 fish Differnt Coindes

Friday august 17th

Continued Hear for ouer men thay did not Return Last night

Satturday augt 18th

ouer men Returnd and Brot with them the man and Brot with them the Grand Chief of the ottoes and 2 Loer ones and 6 youers [others ?] of thare nattion[1]

[On last fly-leaf.]

the 22thd June
Charles Floyd
Winser 22thd
R. Field 22thd
J. Field Gard for thompson 16th July
Newman 4
Gass Gard for thompson
MCNeel
thompson

[1] The following day, August 19, Floyd was "taken verry bad all at once with a Biliose Chorlick" — see Clark's journal, vol. i, pp. 114, 115, *ante* — and on the twentieth died.—Ed.

The Original Journal of Private Joseph Whitehouse

May 14, 1804–November 6, 1805

The ORIGINAL JOURNAL OF Private JOSEPH WHITEHOUSE[1]

CHAPTER I

FROM RIVER DUBOIS TO THE PLATTE

May 14–July 22, 1804

JOSEPH WHITEHOUSES Journal Commencing at River deboise 14th. May 1804. it being a Minute relation of the various transactions and occurrences which took place dureing a Voiage of [blank space in MS.] years from the United States to the Pacific Ocean through the interior of the conti[nent] of North America [*] under the directions of Capt. Meriwether Lewis & Capt W[illiam] Clark, and patronised by the Government of the U, States. The individuals who composed the party engaged to essay the dificuelties, dangers fatigues of this enterprise with the said officers; consists of the persons whoes Names are here-unto anexed–Viz: George

[1] This journal consists of three distinct note-books, the largest 6 × 8½ inches in dimensions, which are crudely stitched together within a cover consisting of an irregular scrap of limp hide — possibly elk skin. The third and last book is incomplete, for at least three leaves have been torn therefrom at the end; as the journal closes with November 6, 1805, it is possible that the missing leaves carried the story forward until the arrival at the mouth of the Columbia. It is of much value as a supplement to the journals of the leaders of the expedition.

The manuscript has been carelessly handled, and is much stained and faded, as well as frayed at the edges. While nearly all of the entries — which are mostly in the hand of Whitehouse, but occasionally in those of other persons, including one entry by Clark — are legible upon careful examination, we have found a few words undecipherable; also small portions torn off at the edges — for these latter, we indicate the conjectural reading in brackets. See also vol. i, pp. lv, lvi, *ante*.

For facility in comparison, we have divided the journal into chapters, according, so far as is practicable, with Biddle's chaptering of the journals of Lewis and Clark. — ED.

Drewyer to act as Interpreter and Hunter; John Ordway, Nath.. Pryor, Charles Floyd & Patric Gass Sergts. John Shi[elds,] William Bratten, John Colter, Hugh Hall, John Collins, Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Silas Goodrich, Alexander Willard, William Werner, John Potts, Thomas Procter Howard, Peter Wiser, George Gibson, George Shannon, John B. Thompson, Richard Windser, [Ro]bert Frazer, Hugh M^{c}. Neal, Peter Crusatt, Francis Labeech, & Joseph White-[hou]se; also Capt. Clarks Black Man York. At the Mandans Tousant Shabono [MS. torn] Indian woman & child joined as interpreter & interpretis to the Snake Indians. [*] [1]

Monday 14th *May* 1804.

hard Showers of rain. this being the day appointed by Cap^{t} Clark to set out, a number of the sitizens of Gotian Settlement came to see us Start. we got in readiness. Cap^{t} Lewis is now at S^{t} Louis but will join us at S^{t} Charls. about 3 oclock P.M. Cap^{t} Clark and the party consisting of three Sergeants and 38 men who manned the Batteaux and 2 perogues. we fired our swivel on the bow hoisted Sail and Set out in high Spirits for the western Expedition. we entered the mouth of the Missourie haveing a fair wind Sailed ab^{t} 6 miles and Camped on the North Side.

Tuesday 15th *May* 1804.

hard rain. we set out eairly. the current Swift, & water muddy. passed Islands & Some inhabitants &c. the aftir part of the day proved pleasant. we Camped on the North Side.

[*Wedne*]*sday* 16th *May* 1804.

a clear morning. Set out [eairly] and proceeded on verry well. about 2 oClock P. M. [we ar]rived at S^{t} Charls. and passed the evening with a [gr]eat deal of Satisfaction, all chearful and in good spirits. this place is an old french village Situated on the North Side of the Missourie and are dressy polite people and Roman Catholicks.

[1] The matter between bracketed stars [*] is in the handwriting of Clark. — Ed.

Thursday 17th May 1804.

a pleasant morning. we are waiting here the arival of Capt Lewis. the evening rainy.

Friday 18th May 1804.

a fair morning. we bought some acceseries &c. for the voiage. passed the evening verry agreeable dancing with the french ladies, &c.

Saturday 19th May 1804.

a rainy wet morning. Capt Lewis and Some of the officers from St Louis arived here this afternoon. we made ready for a Start &c.

Sunday 20th May 1804.

Several of the party went to church, which the french call Mass, and Sore [saw] their way of performing &c.

Monday 21st May 1804.

Some rainy. we took on board Some more provision bread &c. about 4 oclock P. M. we Set out from this place. fired our bow peace and gave three cheers, and proceeded on in good heart, about [blank space in MS.] miles and Camped on the North Side. 2 frenchmon went back to the village. two of our men Stayed at St Charls in order to come on with the horses

Tuesday 22nd May 1804.

a fair morning. we Set out eairly proceeded on verry well passed canon Creek on the Stard Side. Several Indians came to us this evening. Gave us some venison.

Wednesday 23rd May 1804

a fair morning. we Set out 6 oClock A. m. and proceeded on verry well. passed Some Inhabitants called boons Settlement. passd a noted [p]lace called cave tavern in a clift of rocks on [the] South Side, which is 120 feet long 20 perpinticular high [MS. illegible] us inspected our arms and camped.

[*Thu*]*rsday* 24*th May* 1804

a fair morning. we set out eairly and proceeded on as usal pass^{d} timbred land on each Side current of the river Swift. Camped on the South Side.

Friday 25*th May* 1804.

we Set out eairly passed a Smal river on the Star^{d} Side. the Soil of this part of the country rich. towards evening we arived at a french village called S^{t} Johns, on the Star^{d} Side. a boat came here loaded with fur & Skins — had been a long destance up the River tradeing with the Savages &c. we Camped near this Small village this is the last Settlement of white people on this River.

Saturday 26*th May* 1804.

a fair morning. we Set out eairly some Thunder and rain. towards evening. we pass^{d} a creek called otter Creek on the N. Side.

Sunday 27*th May* 1804.

a fair morning. we set out eairly. passed a creek called ash Creek, on the N. Side high clifts on the South Side. proceeded on in the afternoon we arived at the Mouth of Gasganade River on South Side, and camped on an Island opposite the mouth of S^{d} River.

Monday 28*th May* 1804.

a pleasant morning. Several men out a hunting. the Latidude at this place is 38°, 44′, 3.5–10^{ths} as I was a hunting this day I came across a cave on the South Side or fork of a River about 100 yards from the River. I went a 100 yards under ground. had no light in my hand if I had, I should have gone further their was a Small Spring in it. it is the most remarkable cave I ever Saw, in my travels. I return^{d} to the River found the boad had gone on and had left the french perogue for me. I called they came across for me, and went to camp took dinner and proc^{d} on the barge had been gone ab^{t} 2 hours. we went about 2 miles and Camped for the night.

Wendnesday 30th *May* 1804.

a fair morning. we set out eairly and proceeded on about noon began to rain. we passed a creek on the S. Side called rush creek. proc^{d} on passed fine bottoms of timbered land on each Side. pass^{d} a River on N. Side called little muddy River, and panther River on S. Side a large Island opposite the mouth.

Thursday 31st *May* 1804.

a fair morning. we Set out as usal and procee^{d} on met a perogue in which was a frenchman and 2 Indians on board. their loading was beaver Skins and other peltry. high wind. R. Fields killed a deer.

Friday 1st *June* 1804.

a pleasant morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on passed a River on the N. Side called big muddy, the bottoms low. pass^{d} a creek called beaver creek on the S. Side.

Saturday 2nd *June* 1804.

our officers lay by this day for observations. 4 men went out a hunting. about 12 oC. they came in had killed 4 deer. we now lay at the Grandosage River which comes in on the South Side which is a handsome River 397 yards wide the Missourie is at this place 875 yards wide. we fell Some trees in the point to open a place for observations.

Sunday 3rd *June* 1804.

a fair morning. Several men out a hunting. our officers takes observations &c.

Monday 4th *June* 1804.

a fair morning. we branded Several trees &c. in the afternoon we Set out and proceeded about 4 miles and Camped at the [mouth] of a creek on S. Side.

Tuesday 5th *June* 1804.

a fair morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on passed a creek on the South Side and Camped on the Same Side.

Wednesday 6th June 1804.

we Set out eairly. and proceeded on passed a creek called led creek on S. Side. passed a creek on N. Side called little good woman creek. the country is good Soil rich and well timbred &c. Camped on the North Side.

Thursday 7th June 1804.

the hunters and Capt Lewis went out to a buffaloe lick two miles. Saw this Salt Spring, but no buffaloe. on N. E. Side of the Missourie up the Monetuie [Manitou] river in a timbred country. fine bottoms along each Side of the River, underbrush thick.[1] Killd 3 Rattel Snakes of Different Sorts at a large rock Close by the latter river after roed 10 miles Campd at the Mouth of Creek namd The Good woman N. E. Side of the Missurie Our daily hunters met us there with three Bears, One Old famel & her two Cubbs brought By G. Drewyer

Friday—8th

Got on our way at the usal hour had strong Watter to Goe throug the white pierogue had hard Crossing the River to bring the Meat from the hunters, Druyer killd 5 deer before 12 Oclock. met two Connooes loaded with furr from the Zoue [Sioux] River neer the Mandens. Got to the Amens [Mine] River at three Oclock but did not remain at it any times Roed 16 mile.

Saterd 9

Got ondur way at the usal hour Roed 7 miles Stopd to take dinner at the End of a large Island Above the Arrow Prarie the distance from the latter to the River Charrotte River is 14 miles the hunters did Not Come as the Storm was Great the peirouge Could not Cross for them Roed 15 miles

[1] Whitehouse evidently secured the assistance of some of his fellow-travellers in keeping this journal. In addition to the list of the party, inserted by Captain Clark, there are three distinct handwritings in the first part of the MS. Whitehouse's own hand we shall call No. 1. At this point begins the work of No. 2, which continues over 29 pages of the MS., or until July 20, 1804. The writing of No. 2 is less legible than that of Whitehouse, and is distinguished by a peculiar arrangement of dates, etc.—ED.

Sund^y 10

We got to the Charrotte River at 2 Oclock Waited the Arrival of the hunters there Suffer.^d by the Musquitoes on the N. E. Side The Bigg Charrottoe is 100 Y.^ds at the mouth. The little comus in to it at the Distance of 300 Y.^ds apart it^s Brenth at the mouth is 50 Y.^ds Broad Swem the horses and ferried the men across had hard watter Camp.^d On the Charrotte prarie Roe.^d 13 Miles.

Monday 11^th^

the wind blew so strong in the morning that the Commanding Officer halted there that day Drewyer kill.^d two bears & One buck there Halted.

Tusday 12

Left the Charrottoe Perarie and Sail.^d for the Grand River. Met with 7 peirogues. Loaded with peltry for Cap.^tn Chatto [Chouteau] in S.^t Louis Our men of Each Craft Exchang.^d Blankets for Buffalow Robes & Mockisons Sent One of Our Men Belonging to the white pierouge back that Belong.^d to Cap.^tn Stodders[1] Company of Artilery Incamp.^d within two miles of the three point Island Roe.^d 7 Miles that day.

Wen.^dy 13*th*

Got On Our way at the three point Island Or the falling Banks whare all hands Breakfasted belonging to the three Crafts. On the oppisite Shore S. W. Side neer two or about 2 oclock the Barge Struck a Sandbar She keeld On her labord the Sand being Quick Vanquish.^d Suddently from Under her the Currant Being Rappid Neerly Swept the men of[f] their legs while Bearing her up from Sinquing. Got to the Grand River at three Oclock our hunters met us there with a bear and Some Venison [*] this Venson is nice (?) [*][2] Incamp.^d there Roe.^d 14 Miles.

[1] Captain Amos Stoddard, U. S. commandant at St. Louis; his *Louisiana* has several times been cited in these notes. — ED.

[2] Words between [*] are in the handwriting of No. 3. — ED.

Thursd^y 14

Got under way at the Grand River Roe^d 3 miles and Got in to a Byoe at the End of s.^d Byoe Came to the main River. the River Rose the wrack run Rappidly we had to S[t]rike Streat Across the River and the boat with the Other Crafts took the Sand bar with much dificuelty Got them of[f] Got on through many Deficueltys. Roe 6 Miles. Incamp.^d Neer the Willow praraie.

Friday 15

Got on our way at the willow prarie the wind S. E. fresh We Crouded Sail and Sail.^d 16 miles Camp^d at the Indian Settlement nam^d little Zoe [Sioux] prarie the hunters met us with four bears And three deer the party drank a Drachm of whisky and Roe on.

Saterd^y 16*th*

Got on our way at the little town Zoe peraraie this perara is Extencive from the Banks of the River Runs a Vast number of miles from the River back the Wind Rose we Sail^d 10 Miles Got in Strong water In the Evening towe.^d the boat by cutting the timber off the Banks Got on successfully Camp.^d at the Riffel Island whare the water Roll.^d over in Quicksand.

Sunday 17*th*

Got on Our [way] Roe.^d One Mile And Incamp.^d and Made 20 Oars & 600 feet of Roup at the Roap Walk Camp.

Monday 18*th*

In the fore noon thunder and litning Came On After a Rapid Rain Got fair and finish Roaps & And Oars. the hunters Kill.^d four deer and Colter one large Bare On the west Side of the River.

Tusday 19

Got on Our way at the Roap walk Camp perarie the day was Clear a Sharp wind Arose Sail.^d 12 Miles Camp.^d at neer the River Taboe, it Running N. E. the Breadth of it at the Mouth is 50 Y.^ds at the Mouth

Wen^dy 20^th

Rain came on as we was a goeing to start in the morning Shortly After Got fair the hunters Came to the bank of the River. the[y] kill^d a bear brought the Skin left the Meat as it was poor the Currant was Strong towe^d Our boat Untill we came to the head of the Strong watter Island whare the watter run so rappid that the men of the french peirouge Coul^d not make headway by Roeing Or poleing the[y] had to jump^d out and push her through the water Incamp^d On the point of And Islanand Call^d Strong water point Roe^d 12 Miles

Thursday 21^st

Got on our way at the Strong water Point the water was Strong likeways had to towe the Cheif part of the day to the 3 Islands Call^d the 3 mills whare the water Runs Rapidly Camp^d at the head of them Roe^d 12 Miles the hunters Came in with One deer & one turky and a bear Skin

Friday 22^nd

the Rain came on Rapidly in the morning Interup^d our Starting at the usal hour the day cleard Up at 7 Oclock the two latter days was the hotist that has been seen Or felt a long time. the water was Strong with the heat of the day which made the times disagreeble to the party. G. Drewyer kill^d a large Male Bare weigh^d Neer 5 hundre^d W^t Our hunters Came in which had been Absent from the 19^th Ins^t the[y] had part of One deer girk^d with them their names is J. Sheilds & Collins Incamp^d at the fire perarie Roe^d 12 Miles.

Sater^dy 23^rd

Got on Our way at the fire prarie at day light pass^d the River Call^d painter Creek the wind Arose and blew a head of us Render^d our days Work mighty hard for the hands of Each Craft Sail^d Only 3 miles Incamp^d at the head of a Island namd painter Island the hunters came In with two deer & one fish the[y] shot Cap^tn Clark Could not Get

aboard the wind blew so strong G. Drewyr went out and kill 2 deers and one Bare befor Night which made four deer and One bare Kill[ed] in all that day

Sunday 24

Got on Our way at and Cross^{d} the River to the west Shore at 12 oclock we Stop^{d} to Girk our meat on account of the weather being so warm, pass^{d} the River Call^{d} the Straw Hill, On the west Side Runing N. E. by E high land On Each Side of the River, N[o] Indians has Apeard On our Rout Yet the hunters kill^{d} 8 deer one of which from a board the white peerouge on her way Roe^{d} 13 Miles Incamp^{d} at hard Scrable perara

Monday 25

Got on our way at hard Scrable Perarie pass^{d} two Creeks the One Call^{d} la beane[1] and the Other Rowling Creek, S. W. S[ide] a little above the latter two wolves appeard On Shore A man from on board of the white Peiroug went ashore Shot One of them On the E side is high land and well timber^{d} the hills puts in neer the River. Roe^{d} 14 Miles. Incamp^{d} on a small Islan^{d} the hunters [blank space in MS.]

Tusday 26th

the morning was Clear the water was Strong at the head of the Island we Camp^{d} on Got to the E. Shore, and towed our boat by Cutting the timber of[f] the Banks the day Got mighty hot Saw 3 deer Swiming Down the River the white peerogue took after them Kill^{d} the three One of whom Sunk as Soon [as] it Got shot in the head Got the other two Brought them up to the Barge. G Druery kill^{d} 8 deer that day took them on board 2 miles before we Reach^{d} the River de-Caugh [Kansas] at Sun Set Roe^{d} 10 Miles.

[1] Clark (Codex A, p. 70) had this originally "La Benn Creek," but later changed it to "Bennet's Creek." — Ed.

Wen^dy 27^th

halted at the above mentioned River Nixt morning Clear^d off the point And form^d a temperery brest work or piq^et Least the Savages would Attemp^t Comeing in the Night the S^d River de caugh as the[y] take the tittle from it I was Inform^d by one of our Men that traded Up the River that 300 Warriers lives in One Village Up the River About 50 leagues. Lat^d 38^D 31^M 13^S N this river lies in the head of it lies S. W. Halted

Thursday 28

halted at the river de Caugh Meassur^d the Breadth of it is 230¼ Y^ds a little farder is four hundred D^o

the hunters kill five deer one woolf and Catch^d an other about five Months old Kept it for three days Cut its Rope Got away.

Friday 29

Reste^d Untill 4 Oclock p.M Starte^d on our journey Roe^d five 5 miles Camp^d at woolf Creek.

Saterday 30

Got on our way at day light the water Was Strong the land high on Each Side the deer was plentifull on the Sand beech as we pass^d along all sorts of fowls likeway the wolves and Bears Every day Roe^d 12 Miles.

July 1^st Sunday

the water was Strong all day pass^d a Number of Islands to the labourd Roe^d 12¼ Miles the hunters did not Come up to us that day.

Mond^y 2^nd

Got on Our way at Green Island at 4 Oclock P.M., the water was Strong pass^d a prarie on the west S. at S^d place Crossing the [river] at S^d place the Boat Swong the [MS. torn] Exerted them selves mighty well [MS. torn] Off halte^d and got a mast [MS. torn] the Barge Roe^d 10½ Miles [MS. torn] the head of Ordaways [MS. torn]

Tusday 3rd

Got on our way [MS. torn] Island oposite the [MS. torn] Wind Rose Saild [MS. torn] Lat 38, 31, 13 N.

Wendy. 4

Got on our way at Green point at the usal hour the wind being favourable and the water being good Roed on Successfully the day mighty hot when we went to toe the Sand [s]calded Our [feet] Some fled from the rope had to put on Our Mockisons. within the River calld Independance found a Gray horse on the W. Side Roed 16 Miles Incampd on a perarie namd Old town de Caugh

Thursdy 5

Got on our way Roed a mile up the prarie crossd the River with the white horse and left him with the others that the hunters had on the E. Shore Roed 10 Miles Incamped at the Rock prarie.

Fridy 6

Got on on our way at the Usal hour at the Rock prarie the water was tolarably Good. the land a little distance from the River Hilly prarie. had Good Sailing Roed 15 Miles Campd at a prarie calld the bald hills.

Saterdy 7

Got under way about Sun Rise Six Miles from whare we started Came to the most beautifull prarie On the E. S. Whare Nature formd Some battryes And Readouts [redoubts] the hills putts in Neer the River A quarter of mile to the N. E. of Sd prarie a rock on the Bank of the River about 320 feet from the surface of the watter high to the top there off. after passing Sd place towards the Evening a man Espyd a wolf lying a sleep with the Noise of the oars Roeing he awoke Stood to [k]no[w] what was a comeing Captn Lewis shot at him Wounded the animal, Colter likeways, killd him it was thought he was mad when the first Bawl Struck him he snapd at his hind part Roed 15 Miles. Incampd

Sunday 8th

the wind Rose before we started and blew fair with us Sailed Chiefly for the space of Eight hours we came to Small River Called little Nan doughe, [Nadawa] In Indian tounge, Inglish little woody River, it lieing in latude 39°, 39', 22" $\frac{7}{100}$ an Island to the S. S On on our W.S. a bear apeared but Could not be Shot Made his Alopement we Got to the River Nandouie Roed 15 Miles Incamped at the head of of a large Island.

Monday 9

Sat out the Usal hour of Day light Rain Came On Raind the Most part of the day the hunters did not come in We rod 12 Miles at Piettet River de louce [loup] or Woolf River. Incamped it lies on the W. S. the Mouth is about 20 yds B[road]. the hunters Came did not come in.

Tuseday 10

Got On Our way at woolf River at Sun Rise the water was strong the Morning was Clear. On the E. S. of the River whare [we] Stoped to take breakfast the willd Rice was pleanty Groeing on the bank of the River, Straberyes, Rosies, Red And White Roed 11 Miles Camped at the hunters Came in brought 2 deer with them.

Wednesday 11

Got Under Way at an Early hour It appeard like rain but cleard up passed Some Islands to the E. of us Got to Grande-mo-haugh [Grand Nemaha] at Eleven Oclock Halted that day and Next. Roed 4½ Miles.

Thursday 12

Rested at the above mentiond place found a a pybold horse on the E. S. the hunters Came in brought 4 deer with them. Captn Lewis took the altude as follows Latd 39° 55' N.

Friday 13

Got under way Early and Swim the horses across a Creek Tarkia, for the hunters the wind Rose pass Several Islands Is On Our labourd. Saild. 27 Miles. Campd on the little Sandy Isle Oppesite the Hurican[e] prarie.

Saty. 14

the Rain Came on before we left Camp with a Smart wind that Inragd. the watter to Such a degree that all hands had to Get in the Watter to keep up the boat. Roed. on after the Storm was Over 10 Miles.

Sundy 15

the Morning was foggy had to wait Untill it went off Passd the River namd. Nishnay Baton [a] at 3 Oclock passd. the little Mohaugh Got to Camp on the Mohaugh prarie. Roed. 11 Miles

Monday 16

The morning was Clear the water strong the wind rose had Good Sailing passd. a number of Islands to the labourd. Seen Some Elk on the E. Shore as we passd. the prarie Roed. 20 Miles Campd. on the Mohaugh prarie

Tusdy 17

Halted on the latter mention prarie Neer the Bald. pated. hills took an altitude of the meriedian Latd. 40., 29, 54 5/10 N Gr. Druier Brought in 3 deer in the Evening.

Wendy 18

the Morning was Clear Got under way at day light the wind blew fair saild 13 miles Before Dinner. passd. an Iron oar Mine on the Bank of the River on the W. S. wint 22 Miles. the hunters brough[t] 2 deer in with them.

Thursdy 19th

Got on under way the Morning was Clear passd. 4 Islands to our Stabourd as we came along Shore there was two large Cat fish had hold of Each other could not get off one of the

french men Shot the two the first Shot. On the W. Shore at Butter run, the men pull[d] a Great Quantity of wild Cherrys put them in the Barrel of whisky. Roe[d] 12 Miles Camp[d] on an Island neer the River Call[d] the Crying Water.

Friday 20

Got on our way at an Early hour Came up to the creek call[d] Crying water Breakfasted In the Mouth of it the breanth there of is 20 Y[ds] at the mouth On the W. S. Under baldhill. at[1] one oCLock Came to a Large oPen preaarie neare the River oPLate it [is] hie Land and Rich, and Some groves of TimBer. a freash Bres of wind Come fare and we SaLed we Came to [an] ILand cross under an[d] lest night the hunt[ers] kiLed 2 deare Camp nere the Read Blufe Road [rowed] 17 miLe.

Sartdaye 21

got on oer way at an [early hour] the wind Come fare we Come 2 miLes and Eat oer Breakfast. the wind Seased BLoing a reamark[able] hiLL tow hundrered foot hie from the warter Come to the River opLate at one oCLock this River On the west Side of the Mesury a fine preare [two words illegible] on the mouths of the PLate with Beries on a very Strong Streame it Baks the Mussiry over hie warter & Land on the West Side and [an] ILand.

[2] The wedth of the Great River Platt at its mouth across the bars is about ¾ of a mile, but further up we are told by a Frenchman who lived 2 years up this River that it does not rise 4 feet, but Spreads 3 miles in some places. we passed a creek called pappeo [papillion] R. praries are between the 2 Rivers. we camped on the S.S. G. Drewye joined us with 4 Deer he killed.

[1] At this point begins handwriting No. 3, very difficult to decipher. It extends only over two pages of MS., and comprises the entries for the rest of July 20, and part of July 21. The transcription is partly conjectural. —Ed.

[2] Here begins handwriting No. 1, which extends over three pages of MS., and comprises the entries to July 28, inclusive. —Ed.

Sunday July 22d 1804.

we Set out eairly to find Some good place for observations &c. for Incamping. we pass^{d} a creek on the N. S. called Musquetoe Creek. came 12 miles & camped. cut & cleaned a place for encamping pitched our tents built bowereys &c —

CHAPTER II

FROM THE PLATTE TO VERMILION RIVER

July 23–August 24, 1804

Monday July 23rd. 1804.

A CLEAR morning G. Drewyer & S.t Peter [Crusatt] Set out to go to the Zotoe & Paunie village 45 miles to Invite them to come to our camp for Certian purposes &c. we hoisted the american Collours on the Bank The Latitude at this place is 41.D 3.M 19.S3/4 North. one of the hunters killed 2 Deer to day.

Tuesday July 24th. 1804.

Some rain this morning 4 men went to makeing ores for the Batteaux.

Wednesday July 25th. 1804.

a pleasant morning. Som men out hunting. G. Drewyer & S.t peter Returned found no Indians, they were in the praries hunting the Buffelow. Collins killed 2 Deer. J.o F[ields] 1 Turkey.

Thursday July 26th. 1804.

pleasant morning Some men out hunting. G. Drewyer killed 2 Deer & 1 Turkey. the latter part of the day the [wind] hard from the South a Great many Beaver caught at this place by the party.

Friday July 27th. 1804.

cloudy morning the Boat made ready to Start. we Set out about 1 oClock proceeded along. high wood land on S. S. G. Shannon killed one Deer to day we passed a prarie on the S. S. we pass.d many sand bars, the River very crooked;

came about 15 miles & camped on a bank of a high prarie, among a Grove of Cotten wood. the 2 men who were with the horses did not join us to night.

Saturday July 28th 1804.

cloudy morning. we Set out eairly proceded on past a high Bottom prarie on N. S. Some Timber on the Ridge back of those praries above the Bottom prarie the hills make in close to the River verry high & Steep. we passd the mouth of a Small Creek on N. S. named Round Knob Creek. the wind Blew hard from the N. E. G. Drewyer joined us at 11 oC with one Deer. [1] we Came to a hi CLift or Buut [Butte] one hun- [dred] feet the Barge Struck a Sand Bare on the Side of the River on the StarBord S. inCampe on the north Side of the [river] at the foot of a iLand CaLd the BLuf iLand we Rowed 10 MiLes that day. the hunterers Comin and Brought one indian with them.

Sunday 29

the Morning was Rany the indian and LiBerty went to the nation to Bring the rest of them to a treaty the hunter Come to us at 12 CLock with Some EaLk meat and on[e] deare the Cowes [buffalo, word conjectural] was near the Same Praerie Land Some groves of timBer weL wartered I Cut my [word illegible] on the 27 had to Lay by my ower [oar] the Cout was one inch and half Long WiLard Left his tommehake weare [where] we Camped on the night of the 28 Instan we Came to the Grean Prarie it [is] very hansom the hiLs Com in near the river th[ere] Come in [a] smaLe Creak on the West Sd of the river Cald it Potts Creak aBout 20 yds at the Mouth. [2] Roed 11½ Campd on the E. S. Joseph fields Shot a Brareowe he is the form of a dog. his colour is Gray his talents on the four feet is 1½ Inch long his picture never was Seen by any of the party before.

[1] At this point begins handwriting No. 3, and extends over about one page of the MS.— Ed.

[2] At this point begins handwriting No. 2, and extends over ten pages of MS. until August 17, inclusive.—Ed.

Monday July 30th

Sat out at an Early hour to find a place of Incampmen[t] to wait for lebarty & the Zottoe Indians to form A Treaty with them Come to a place of Incamp[t] About Eigh[t] Oclock On the W. S. in a piece of woods Cloase to a high Bank whare N[o] 2 walk[d] On; from Surface of the water it is neerly 100 feet in hight. Roe[d] 4 Miles & halte[d] there.

Tusday July 31

the Morning was Clear G. Druier Catched a young beavour kept him for a pet. Joseph fields, And his brother lost the horses when the[y] went to bring whome [home] a deer that the S[d] Joseph Shot on the Evening of the 30[th] In[st].

Wend[y] August 1st;

the Morning was Clear G. Druier & Colter went to look for the horses that was lost on the 30[th] of last month; G. Gibson was Sent back one Days Journey to see if the Indians came there with Liberty that was sent for them to come to a Treaty with Cap[tn] Lewis & W[m] Clark at the Camp of the Brareowes. Shields Kill One Deer Gibson returnd but did not see liberty or the Indians there.

Thursday 2nd

G. Druier & Colter Returnd found the horses Kill[d] an Elk. Brought It to Camp 12 of the Zottoe Indians Ariv[d] at Our Camp Call[d] the Council Bluffs, or the Brarareham prarie; at the Hour of 7 Oclock P. M. No buissness was don. the commanding officer Orderd them plenty of Provisions. Halted.

Friday 3rd

the morning was foggy the Indians Beheav[d] well while Incamp[d] Neer our party Cap[tn] Lewis Brought them to a treaty after the hour of 9 Oclock there was Six of the Zottoe Cheifs & Six of the Missueriees; he gave 3 of the head chiefs a Meaddle Each; and the Other three Commissions in the Name of the president of the U. S. the[y] was well content With what the[y] Rec[d] the Officer Commanding Gave Each of the

privates Some Small presents which made them all on an Eaqual Satisfactory Atonement for their Visit. the[y] was well Content in the presence of their two fathers, which was M. Lewis & W^m. Clark d^o when the Articles was Opend Out the[y] Said as long as the french had traded with [them] the[y] Never Gave them as much as a Knife for Nothing. Got under way in the Evening Sail^d 5 miles.

Saterday Aug^t. 4^th

The morning was Clear pass^d Several Indian Old Camps On the W. S. one was Call^d the hat as the Indian died there nam^d the hat Camp^d on the East Side Roaed 17 m^s.

Sunday 5

Nothing Extraordinary happned that day Road 16 miles Camp^d On the S. S. Read deserted from our party.

Monday 6^th

the morning was fair got under way at Sun Rise pass^d an Island to the L. S. Roaed 12 miles before Dinner. the hunters brought 3 deer to the River Camp^d on the sd: S. Roaed 18 ¾ Miles.

Tusday Aug^t. 7^th

the Morning Clear the party Sonsisted of 4 their names first G. Druier, R. fields, Bratton, And William [Labiech][1] that was Sent after M^r. Read that Deserted in Lat. °41, 17, 00 N. Nothing Else happen^d Extraordinary this day.

Wends^y. Aug^t. 8^th

Cap^tn. M. Lewis Shot a pillican the Bagg that it carried its drink in contain^d 5 Gallons of water by Measure after we pass^d the pillican Island there was better than 5 or 6000 of them flying they kept before Us one day Roaed 19 Miles Camp^d On the E. S.

[1] Clark gives his name as "Francis" in the list at the beginning of this journal; but in the text of the journal for this date, speaks of him as "Wm. Labieche." — ED.

Thursday Aug^t. 9^th

the Morning was foggy Cleard Up at 8 Oclock the Wind blew south had Good Sailing for better than 14 Miles. Cam[p]ed On the E. S. Roaed & Sail^d 20 miles.

Friday 10

the morning was clear the musquitoes was mighty troublesome Untill The Sun Rose to Some hight. Camp^d On the E. S. Roaed 24 miles.

Sateday Aug^t. 11.

Rain came on at the hour of 3 Oclock A. M. a heavy wind blew after. the Crafts got under way at 6 Oclock favour^d With a South Wind, pass^d a bluff whare the Black bird the late King of the Mahars Was buried 4 years ago the Officers took a flagg with them and Assended the hill which was 300 feet higher than the water left the white flagg on a pole Stuck on his Grave. Roa^d 18 Miles [camped] on the E. S.

Sunday Aug^t 12^th

The Morning was fair a Sharp Breese of wind Blew from the South Sal^d 21 Miles from 12 Oclock the 11^th to 12 Oclock this day and Gain^d 914 yards on a direct Cource. Camped on the W. S. r[owed] 21 Miles.

Monday Aug^t. 13^th

Arive^d at the fish camp Neer the Mahars Village at at 4 4 Oclock this day the Commanding Officer Sent a Serj^t & 4 Men with a white flagg, to the Village to Invite them to Come to a treaty, but the[y] found no Indians at the Village Return^d Nixt day after 12 Oclock.

Tusday 14^th

the day was fair and pleasant Some of the men Went a hunting Return^d found no Game.

Wend^{y} 15

Cap^{tn} Clark and Some of the men went a fishing to a pond One mile from the River the[y] had Good Success the[y] catch^{d} 386 fish.

Thursday Augst 16

Cap^{tn} Lewis went out the Nixt day with his party and Returned with 709 fish Neerly 200 pike fish amongst them.

Friday Aug^{t} 17th.

the weather was fine the men Ocepyed their time in Cam[p] Repairing their Arms, and Cloathing. LaeBash returned by himSelf Lost the Party and came to Camp with measige.[1]

Saturday 18th *Aug*^{t}.[2]

G. Drewyer & the other 2 men Returned & Brought with them M. Reed the Deserter, likewise the pettevolior [Little Thief] the Big chief of the Zattous & another called the Big horse, a frenchman & 7 of the warriers &c. they all came for the purpose of treating & making friends with the Mahars, &c. M. Reed tried & towards evening he Rec^{d} his punishment, the chiefs Sorry to have him punished &c. La Liberty has not returned. it is expected that he has deserted.

Sunday 19th

the Indians all appear to be friendly at 9 oClock the Captains read a long Speech to them & Counseled with them, & Gave one a medal & the others they Gave commissions, & Some Small preasants &c we Gave them provisions while they Remained with us. Serg^{t} Floyd Taken verry ill this morning with a collick.

Monday 20th

we Set out eairly this morning under a gentle breeze from the S. E. the Indians all Set out for to return to their village,

[1] The preceding sentence is in handwriting No. 3. — Ed.

[2] Here begins Whitehouse's handwriting, and continues through Oct. 15.— Ed.

we Sailed on verry well till noon when we landed for to take Dinner. Sergeant Charles Floyd expired directly after we landed. he was layed out in the most decent manner possable. we proceeded on to the first hills on N. S. where we halted and dug a Grave on the top of a round knob & buried the Desed with the honours of war. the funeral Serrymony performed &c. we named this hill Sg^t Floyd's Bluff we then proceeded on to a Creek on the Same Side which we named Sg^t Floyds Creek.

Tuesday 21^st August 1804.

we Set out eairly this morning under a hard Breeze from the South. we passed the mouth of the Grand River Souix close ab^y a high Bluff on N. S. we came 20 odd miles & camped on S. S.

Wednesday 22^nd Aug^t 1804.

we Set off eairly the current Swift. the [wind] hard from the South. we passed a ceedar Bluff on the South Side in which we found Some kinds of Minral Substance, the 2 men who had been with the horses joined us had killed 2 Deer we pas^d an allum Stone clift on the S. S. we camped at a prarie on the N. S. we See a great deal of Elk Sign &c.

Thursday 23^rd

we Set off eairly 2 men went on Shore hunting. passed round a bend Cap^t Clark walked on Shore a Short time and killed a fat Buck. we halted to take Breakfast. 2 Elk Swam across the River close ab^y the boat we wounded boath of them. J^o Fields came to the Boat had killed a Bull Buffelow. Cap^t Lewis & 10 men of the party went out & Brought it to the Boat. John Collins killed a faun. the 2 men on the S. S. who had been with the horses came to the Boat with 2 Deer. we halted in a bend to dine the wind verry hard so we jurked our meat &c. the wind fell towards evening we proceeded on till dark & camped on the S. S.

Friday 24th

Some Small Showers of rain last night we Set off about Sun rise. we passed rugged Bluffs on the S. S. where we found Some red berreys which they call Rabbit berrys. we passed a handsom prarie on N. S. in this prarie we are informed that their is a high hill which they call the hill of little Devills. we passed the mouth of a large Creek on N.S. called White Stone River which is abt 50 yards wide & extends a Great distance in to the Countrey, we Camped on the S. S. of the Missouri.

Chapter III

FROM THE VERMILION TO TETON RIVER

August 25–September 24, 1804

Saturday 25th

2 MEN of the party caught 9 nine cat fish last night, 5 of them verry large. Capt Lewis & Clark & 10 more of the party went back to See the hill of little Devils. the Boat waited till eleven oClock & then went on.

Sunday 26th

the Boat detained this morning to Jurk an Elk which Shannon killed, abt 9 oClock the party returned to the Boat much fatigued they informd us that their was nothing but Birds to be Seen & that it is about nine miles from the Missouri & a handsom round hill in a [im]mence large prarie. they Saw a Great many Buffelow from the hill. they were all most famished for water &c. we proceeded on passed a white clay Bluff on S. S. we found a large plumb orched in a prarie N. S. we Camped on a large Sand bar N. S. opposite a Creek called pet arck [Petite Arc] or little Bow whare their was formerly an Indian village.

Monday 27th

G. Drewyer came to us this morning 2 men Sent out for to hunt the horses. we Set out at Sun rise under a gentle Breeze from the S. E. we proceeded on passed a chalk Bluff on S.S. in this Bluff is Mineral Substance &c. we passed the Mouth of a large Creek called River Jaque on the N. S. here we Saw 3 Indians they informed us that their camp was near & Sergt pryor & 2 men went we then proceeded on untill dark & camped on a large Sand beach on the N. Side.

Tuesday 28th

we Set off eairly under a fine Breeze from S. E. we passed high praries on N. S. handsome & ascending graddually from the river at 2 oClock P M. the wind Blew hard from the S.W. the pearogue got a hole Broke in to hir by dashing a gainst a Snag, So that they had to begin to unload, but they Stoped the Water from comming in by Stopping in one thing & another. So we went across the river on the South Side and camped to wait the arival of the Indians &c. in order to counsel with with them &c. a flag pole raised this place is below a large Island & Sand bar below a hill & Bluff on the S. S. in a handsome Bottom & Groves of oak Timber, &c.

Wednesday 29th

a hard Storm arose from the N. W. last night abt 8 oC- of wind & rain. cloudy morning, Some Thunder, colter Sent on with Some provision for to hunt Shannon & the horses &c. the pearogue repaired the men make a Towing line out of our Elk Skins. we have pleanty of fine cat fish which the party catch in the Missouri River, in the afternoon Serg pryor & the 2 men returned brot with them 60 Indians of the Souix nation they appear to be friendly. they camped on the opposite Shore we carried them over Some provisions & capt Lewis Sent them Tobacco &c. Sergt pryor informed us that their Town was abt 9 miles from the Missouri, and consisted of 40 lodges, and built with dressed Buffelow Skins &c. painted different coulers &c. G. Drewyer killed one Deer to day.

Thursday 30th

the fog is so thick on the river this morning that we could not See across the river, untill late in the morning. about 9 oClock the Indians was brought across the river in our pearogue our Captains counseled with them read a Speech to them, & made 5 of them chiefs & Gave them all Some Marchandize &c &c. They received them verry thankfully divided them out among themselves, & play on their juze

harps, Sung &c. they [their] Boys Shot with their Bows and arrows for Beeds and appeared to be merry, and behaved well among our parte[y]. Cap^{t} Lewis Shot his air gun told them that their was medician in hir & that She would doe Great execution, they were all amazed at the curiosity, & as Soon as he had Shot a fiew times they all ran hastily to See the Ball holes in the tree they Shouted aloud at the Site of the execution She would doe &c. The Captains Gave them provisions &c. as Soon as it was dark a fire was made a drum was repaired among them. the young men painted themselves different ways. Some with their faces all white others with their faces part white round their forehead, & breasts &c. then they commenced dancing in curious manner to us. their was a party that Sung and kept time with the drumm. they all danced or all their young men especially. they Gave a houp before they commenced dancing, they would dance around the fire for Some time and then houp, & then rest a fiew minutes. one of the warrirs would git up in the centre with his arms & point towards the different nations, & make a Speech, telling what he had done, how many he had killed & how many horses he had Stole &c. all this make them Great men & fine warrirs, the larger rogues [are] the best men &c or the Bravest men & them that kills most gets the greatest honoured among them

Friday 31st

a pleasant morning.

Sept^{r} 1

the morning was Rainy got under way at the Calmit bluff at that place Capt^{n} Lewis & Clark Held a treaty with the tribe of the Debough-bruley [Bois Brulé] or the Burning wood.[1]

Sunday 2nd *Sept^{r}* 1804.

a hard Storm of wind and rain last night which lasted about 2 hours, cloudy this morning we Set off eairly three men out hunting. the hunters killed three Elk. we halted at 8

[1] The entry for Sept. 1 is in handwriting No. 2. — Ed.

oC on the S. S. where their was an ancient fortification in the form of a half moon it appeared that one Side had washed in to the river. Cap^{t} Clark took the dimentions of it. the wind high from the North So that we were obledged to lay too at a high prarie where we found plumbs & Grapes a pleanty.

Monday 3rd Sep^{t}

cool and pleasant this morning we Set off at Sun rise passed yallow Bluff & many beaver Signs we passed a Chalk Bluff we passed plumb Creek on the N. S. Camped on the S. S.

Tuesday 4th Sep.

Set off eairly. proceeded on found Some plumbs. pass^{d} white paint Creek on the S. S. we Sailed fast, we passed the Mouth of Big Rapid River on S. S. Saw an Indian raft at a Cdeeder [Cedar] Bottom ab^{t} the M^{o} of Rapid River. G. Drewyer killed a Turky we looked for tracks of Shannon but could not See whether he had pass^{d} or not.

Wednesday 5th Sep^{t}

we took a ceeder mast on board Some hunters out we Sailed on passed Goat creek on N. S. where the Beaver had made a damm across the mouth of it. we passed handsome Minneral Springs on the N. S. the hunters killed 2 Elk & a Deer.

Thursday 6th Sep^{t}

a cloudy morning Several hunters out hunting. colter joined us had not found Shannon. the hunters killed 1 Buffalow one Elk 3 Deer one woolf 1 Deer & four Turkies. camped on N. S.

Friday 7th Sep^{t} 1805.

a clear morning we set off eairly. one of the hunters killed a prarie dogg & S^{d} he Saw a village of them we halted the Cap^{ts} went out with 10 men and drounded out one & took it alive & kept it. it is a curious annimal much like a little dog, & live in holes all in a compact place like a village.

Saturday 8th Sept

a pleasant morning. we Set off eairly. G. Drewyer joined with the horses had killed 2 Elk a faun Deer and caught 2 large beaver. we passed an old Trading house on N. S. Capt Clark walkd on Shore & killed a faun Deer 3 Turkies & a Squerrell.

Sunday 9th Sept

we Set off eairly. Saw Several Gangs of Buffalow on the Side hills on S. S. Capt Clark walked on Shore passed Several creeks. G. Drewyer killed a Deer. R. Fields killed a Buffalow. Capt Clark killed a Buffalow.

Monday 10th Sept 1804

a foggy morning. we Set off eairly proceeded on. we Saw a ruck of Bones on the Bank S. S. which appeared to be the Bones of a monstrous large fish the Back Bone is 45 feet long. the hunters killed three Buffalow & a Deer.

Tuesday 11th Sept. 1804.

Set out an eairly hour Clear morning & fare wind. proceeded on passed an Isld covd with timber. high hills and prarie Saw a man coming down to the bank horseback near we came to Shore and found it was Shannon that had been with the horses. he had been absent 16 days and 12 of them he had eat nothing but Grapes. the reason was his balls ran Short. the hills commenced close on both Sides of the river. Capt Clark, Sergt Ordway & Sergt Pryor went out to hunt this morning [came] to us heree. had killed 2 Elk 4 Deer and one porkapine. one of the horses which Shannon had with him Gave out & he left him 7 days ago. we proceeded on Rained verry hard passed black bluffs on the S. S. R. Fields went with the horse as we have only the one now the rain continued untill 7 oClock in the evening. Camped on the South Side.

Wednesday 12 *Sep*^{t} 1804.

Clouday. R. Fields continued on with the horse. passed a long range of black bluffs on the S. S. and an Island covered with timber. that is all the wood that is to be Seen at this place. all the country is hills and praries. at 12 oclock Cap^{t} Clark Newman and Serg^{t} Gass went a hunting. those in the barge had a Great deal of trouble to Git along the Sand bars, their was So many and the current So rapid that we did not come more than 4 miles. Camped after dark on the S. Side.

Thursday 13th *Sep*^{t} 1804.

cloudy and hard rain. G. Drewyer caught 4 beaver last night high wind, passed a creek on S. S. and range of black bluffs. three of the party went out to hunt and has not returned yet. Camped on the N. S.

Friday 14th *Sep*^{t} 1804.

a foggy morning, a cloudy day and Some rain the water is So Shallow that we had to waid & hall the barge over the Sand bars. at 8 oClock we halted for to take breakfast. the 3 men who went a hunting yesterday joined us here. the hills and praries are pleasant but barron. G. Drewyer caught 3 beaver last night the Musquitoes are troublesom. pass^{d} black bluffs on the S. Side and an Island which had Som timber on it. passed a creek on South Side. the hunters killed a goat and a hare. the Goat was killed by Cap^{t} Clark & the first that was Seen by the party on the Missourie.

Saturday the 15th *Sep*^{t}

we Set off eairly a cloudy morning. Collins went with the horse. we passed a creek on the S. Side named Shannons creek and black bluffs on N. S. passed white River on the S. Side Serg^{t} Gass & R. Fields went up white River Some distance. they found it to be a handsom river and a handsom country. 12 miles up this R. it is 150 y^{ds} wide the current and coulour is like the Missourie R.

Sunday 16th Sept. 1804.

we Set off eairly and proceeded on passed the mouth of White River on the S. Side Came 4 miles and Camped at a beautiful bottom wood with thin timber named pleasant Camp. I went out a hunting and Several more of the party, their was a nomber of buffaloe Elk Deer Goats & one magpy killed this day. Serg^t Gass & R. Fields returned. had killed 3 Deer.

Monday 17th Sept. 1804.

Cap^t Lewis and Several more of the party went out a hunting. they came in had killed 13 common Deer 2 black taild Deer 1 Goat & 3 Buffaloe the Goats in this [country] is different from the Goats in the States they have much longer ears and courser hair. Drewyer caught 1 beaver. killed a prarie wolf, these wolves are larger than a fox.

Tuesday 18th Sept.

we Set off from camp pleasant a clear day. passed timbered land on the S. S. hills and prarie on the N. S. pass^d an Is^d and a Great nomber of Sand bars. Cap^t Lewis in his yesterdays hunt killed a bird not common in the States a bird of pray resembling the Europian magpy. Cap^t Clark Drewyer & jo Fields killed 11 deer and one wolf we Camped before night in order to jerk our meat on the S. Side Fields did not join us this night.

Wednesday 19th Sept.

we Set off eairly. a clear day. we passed handsom large bottoms on Each Side covered with timber j^o Fields killed a black tailed Deer & hung it up on the bank of the river. Cap^t Clark & 2 men went out to hunt on N. S. at noon we Saw Some buffaloe Swimming the river. we Stoped and Killed 2 of them. proceeded on. Cap^t Lewis and Drewyer went to hunt on an Island opposit to this Isl^d comes in River called the Souix pass over of the three Rivers. at the upper end of the Same Is^d comes in a creek called Elm Creek up the bluffs ab^t 2 miles comes in another Creek called wash

creek. Cap^{t} Lewis and Drewyer Came to the Boat again. about 2 miles we pass^{d} another creek called night Creek, at which place we Camped on the South Side. Here Drewyer came to us had killed 2 deer of the black tal^{d} kind.

Thursday 20th Sep^{t}

Set off eairly a clear day & fair wind. passed handsom riseing prarie on N. Side and a bottom covered with timber on the S. Side. Cap^{t} Clark walked on Shore. Drewyer and Shields went across a point withe the horse about 2 miles which was 30 miles round by water, which is called the Grand bend of the missourie. at one oClock we halted to dine. Cap^{t} Lewis and R. Fields went a hunting. at 2 oC we proceeded on passed a long range of bluffs on N. S. of a dark coulour. out of those and others of the same kind is where the Missourie Gets its muddy colour for this Earth melts like Sugar, and every rain that comes they wash down and the rapidness of the current keeps continualy mixing through the water all the way to the mouth of the Mississippi. at 7 oC we camped on a large Sand beach on N. S. here boath the Captains and R. Fields joined us. had killed 2 Goats and 2 deer at 1 oClock at night the bank began to fall in So fast we had to raise all hands and go on one mile further before we could camp. then crossed the river & camped again.

Friday 21st Sep^{t}

Set off eairly a clear day proceeded on 4 miles passed the bluffs on the South Side and came to the End of the bend where it is not more than 2 miles across to our Camp of the 19th Ins^{t} after a journey of 35 miles. we proceeded on passed black bluffs on S. S. and handsom plains on N. S. pass^{d} a ceeder bottom on S. S. and bluffs on the N. Side passed a creek on the S. S. called Tylors creek. Camped on the N. Side.

Saturday 22nd Sep^{t}

Set off eairly a foggy morning. passed Some timber on S.S. high plains on N. S. about 3 oC we passed a ceeder

Isl^{d} one of the 3 Sister[s] where M^{r} Louisell had built a fort of ceeder. it is pickeded in 65 or 70 feet Square a Sentery box at the 2 angles corners the pickets are 13½ feet above Ground. in this Square he built a house 45½ by 32½ feet divided into 4 equal parts, one for a common hall one to trade in and one for a famaly house. opposite this Drewyer & Shields came to us with the horse. they had killed Several deer and one white wolf. passed a creek & Is^{d} of the 3 Sisters proceeded on passed an old Indian Camp where we found Some of their dog poles, they answer us for Setting poles. the reason that they are called dog poles is that they tye them to their dogs & they hall their baggage &c. from one Camp to another. we Camped on the N. S.

Sunday 23rd Sep^{t}

we Set out eairly a clear morning passed Some timber on the N. S. high land on the S. S. passed a creek on the N. S. called Smoak creek. R. Fields went out to hunt we passed Elk Island at the lower end of the long reach. a handsom bottom on the N. S. and barron hills on the S. Side. At 6 oC in the evening we Seen 4 Indians on the S. S. we Camped on the N. S. and three of them Swam over to us they belonged to the Souix nation. they Informed us that their was more of their nation not far off we Set them back over the river again R. Fields joined us here had killed one Goat.

Monday 24th Sep^{t}

Set off eairly passed a Small creek on the S. Side about 3 oClock Coulter came up the bank and told us that he had went on an Island this morning, and while he was their the Indians Stole the horse, he had killed 2 Elk one perogue Stop^{d} to dress & take them on board. we saw 5 Indians on the bank but we could not understand them nor them us. we ankred the boat out in the river to wait for the perogues. one came up we then proceeded on to the mouth of the Teton River on the S. Side where we ankered out 100 yards from

Shore and all the men remained on board except the Guard & the cooks. we had one frenchman on board who could Speak a little of their language. they told us that their chiefs would come to See us tomorrow. they sayd that if their young men had taken the horse they would Git him again. these are a band of the Souix nation called the Tetons. those 5 we Saw on Shore Stayed all night.

Chapter IV

FROM TETON RIVER TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE MANDANS

September 25–October 15, 1804

Tuesday 25th Sept

WE delayed to wait for the Indian chiefs and warrie[r]s to come which we expected. about 10 oClock they came about 50 in nomber. our officers made three of them chiefs, and Gave them meddels & Some presents. 5 of them came on board & Stayed a long time. Capt Clark and Some men took [them] to Shore in a perogue. the Indians did not incline to let us Go on any further up the river. they held the cable of the perogue and Said that they wanted one perogue at least to Stay as they were poor. Capt Clark insisted on Going on board but they resisted for a long time. they Sd they had Soldiers on Shore as well as he had on board. Capt Clark told them that he had men and medican on board that would kill 20 Such nations in one day. they then began to be Still and only wished that we would Stop at their lodges untill their women & children would see us. 4 of them came on board again, & we proceeded on 1 mile and ankered out at the lower point of an Island in the middle of the river. the 4 Indians stayed with us all night.

Wednesday 26th Sept

we Set off eairly proceeded on 4 miles all the way on the S. Shore was covered with Savages. at 10 oClock we came to where the whole band had formed a circle of their lodges & pitched in the best order possable. we ankered out about 100 yards from Shore. Capt Lewis the 4 chiefs & 4 or 5 men went on Shore. the natives appeared peacable & kind. Capt Lewis

came on board & Cap^{t} Clark went out. when the Indians Saw the officers comming they Spread a buffaloe Robe on the Ground and they Set down on it, then it was taken up by 4 warrie[r]s and carried to the Grand chiefs lodge. they killed Several fat dogs which they call the best meat that ever was. at night the women assembled and danced untill 11 oClock at night. then our officers came on board and 2 chiefs with them.

Thursday 27th Sep^{t} 1804.

we Stayed here this day. Cap^{t} Lewis and Some of the party went over to See the Indians Camps their lodges are about 80 in nomber and contain about 10 Souls Each, the most of them women and children. the women are employed dressing buffaloe hides for to make themselves cloathing and to make their lodges &c. they are or appear as yet to be the most freendly people I ever Saw but they will Steal and plunder if they can git an oppertunity. they are verry dirty the vessels they carry their water in is the pouch of their game which they kill and in the Same manner that they take them out of the animel. they gave us different kinds of victules to eat. Some of it I never Saw the like before. about 15 days ago they had a battle with the Mahars. they killed 65 men and took 25 women prisoners. they took the 65 of the Mahars sculps and had them hung on Small poles, which ther women held in their hands when they danced. we Saw them have one dance this evening. they kept it up untill one oclock dancing round a fire about 80 of them in nomber. they had drums and whistles for musick. they danced war dances round the fire which was curious to us. when we came on board an axedant happened by running the perogue across the bow of the boat and broke our cable and lost our anker all hands was raised and roed the barge to Shore. the Savages ran down to know what was the matter. we told them they Said that they came to our assistance we thanked them for Showing their good will but kept on our guard all night for fear they would turn our enimies themselves.

Friday 28th Sept. 1804.

we draged the river in hopes to find our anker but it was in vain. about 9 oClock we went to Set off Some of the chiefs was then on board and concluded to go a little ways with us. when we were about to Shove off a nomber of warrie[r]s on Shore caught hold of our cable and another whiped of[f] the children the women went off also only about 60 warries on the edge of the bank and we jest under the bank Some of them had fire arms and the rest had Good bows and arrows ready for war. the consequence had like to have been bad as Capt. Lewis was near cutting the cable with his Sword and giving orders for the party to fire on them. then the chiefs went out and Spoke to them. they Said if we would Give them a carrit of tobacco they would loose the rope. we gave them tobacco. the chief after Some hesitation loosed the rope himself. we then Set of under a fine breese of wind. passed high land on N. S. & bottom on S. S. Saw an Indian comming up the Shore. we hoisted a white flag, and a red flag for peace or war, and was determined to fight our way, if we could not Go without. Capt. Lewis Got into a perogue and went on Shore to See what the Indian wished [and] brought him on board. he Informed us that 300 more of Savages had arived at the village they wished us to Stop and talk with them, but we did not Stop. he remained on board. about Sunset we ankered out near a Small Sand bar in the middle of the river for to Stay all night.

Saturday 29th Sept. 1804.

we Set off eairly. proceeded on passed bluffs on S. S. Saw Several Indians on Shore 1 or 2 of the brave men as they called themselves, wanted Some tobacco. the Officers gave them 2 carrits of tobacco but told them that we Should not Stop untill we Got to the RickRee I. Nations. passed an old village on S. S. where the RickaRees had lived 5 years ago, had raised corn beans [illegible word] Camped on a Sand beach on the S. Side.

Sunday 30th Sept. 1804.

Set off eairly. a cloudy morning. we proceeded on Saw a Great nomber of Indians on the S. S. comming down the river. we halted a fiew minutes and Gave them Some tobacco & Spoke a fiew words to them, and went on under a fine breeze of wind. towards night the waves ran & our boat rocked So that it Skared our old Indian which was on board He was afraid to go any further with us, and went out on Shore in order to return to his nation. we Camped on the N. S. of the river.

Monday 1st October 1804.

Set off eairly. a cloudy morning fare wind. we Sailed on rapidly. at 9 oClock we passed dog River which comes in on S. S. we Camped on a Sand bar in the middle of the river, a french trador came to us from the S. Shore.

Tuesday 2 October 1804.

Set off eairly. proceeded on. passed a range of black bluffs on N. S. and a large bottom on S. S. about 2 oClock we discovered a nomber of Indians on the hills on N. S. one of them came down on the bank of the river & fired off his Gun and cryed out. we hardly new his meaning but we held ourselves in rediness in case they Should attack us we were determined to fight or dye. proceeded on passed a creek on the S. S. Camped on a Sand bar in the middle of the river.

Wednesday 3rd Oct. 1804.

a cloudy morning, and Some rain We Set off at ½ past 7 oClock, proceeded on at 12 oClock the wind blew So hard down the river that we Delayed untill 3 oC. then proceeded on passed a long range of dark couloured bluffs on S. S. bottom & Some timber on the N. S. Camped on the South Side.

Thursday 4 Oct. 1804.

Set off eairly. at 9 oClock we halted for breakfast an Indian Swam the river & came to us. proceeded on passed a creek on S. S. called Teed creek Camped on the upper point of an Island.

Friday 5th Oct. 1804.

Set off eairly Some whight frost last night. the day clear and pleasant. about 11 oClock we Saw Some Goats Swimming the river. one of our hunters Shot 4 of them. passed a creek on the N. S. called hidden Creek. we killed a prarie wolf Swimming in the river passed a creek on the S. S. called whight Goat creek. Camped on the S. Side.

Saturday 6th Oct.

Set off eairly. clear & pleasant. about 11 oC we were passing a bottom covered with timber on the S. S. 2 of our hunters went out and killed 1 Elk. in this bottom a band of the Rick a rees lived last winter. they left a nomber of round huts covered with earth, and Some water-crafts made out of buffaloe hides. proceeded on passed a creek on the S. S. we Camped on a Sand beach on N. S.

Sunday 7th Oct. 1804.

we Set off eairly. a clear day. passed a creek on the N. S. Goodrich and a Small River on the S. S. called Sir war [Sir-warkahna] about 90 yards wide. at the mouth of this River is a wintering camp of the Rickarees having about 60 lodges. we Saw 2 of the Souix indians on the N.S. Capt Clark killed a Deer and a brarow. we Camped on the N. S. opposite the head of an Island.

Monday 8th Oct. 1804.

we Set off eairly, a pleasant morning. we passed a run on the S. S. called Slate run. proceeded on about 12 oClock we passed the mouth of Marroppy [Maropa] River. we came to the upper end of an Island where one band of the Rick-a-rees live. we camped above the Isd on the S. S.

Tuesday 9th Oct. 1804.

a Stormy day. we delayed here all day in order to counsel with this nation their is 2 frenchmen lives with the natives. they all appear to us verry friendly.

Wednesday 10th Oct. 1804.[1]

our officers held a counsel with the natives and gave them Some presents.

Thursday 11th Oct. 1804.

about 12 oClock the natives came to our camp & Gave us Some corn beans & squashes & wished our officers to Speak a good word for them at the Mandans, for they Said they wished to make peace.

Friday 12th Oct. 1804.

about 12 oclock we Set off. one of the natives went with us, to go as far as the Mandans. we camped on the N. S. of the River.

Saturday 13th Oct. 1804.

we Set off eairly clouday, about 12 oclock it rained some. we halted 2 hours. then proceeded on untill dark and camped on the N. S.

Sunday 14th Oct. 1804.

cloudy. Some rain. we Set off eairly, proceeded on passed a creek on the S. S. camp[d] on the N. S. nothing else extraordinary hapened this day.

Monday 15th Oct. 1804.

rained all last night. we Set off eairly

[1] The entries for the dates October 10 to 15 inclusive have in the MS. been crossed out with pen-marks. — ED.

CHAPTER V

AMONG THE MANDANS

November 1 1804—January 20, 1805

November thur. 1st 1804.[1]

THE wind blew So fresh from the South that we Could not Get Under Way at the time appointed as the Officers Intended falling down the the river before two oclock P. M., to the place that the[y] wishd to build a fort. at dark we arivd with the boat and Peirouges 9½ Miles below the 2nd vilage of Mandans at a piece of woods On the N. E. Side whare we Commenced building the fort.

Friday 2nd *November.*

Began the works of the fort the weather continued pleasant for 14 days during which time all the men at Camp Ocepied thair time dilligenently in Building their huts and got them Made comfertable in that time to live in.

Saterday 3d.

a party of hunters was Sent down the river with a peirogue to Bring the meat whome [home] the[y] Remained 15 days, and on the 18th Inst the[y] had good Success the[y] killd 34 deers, 10 Elks and 5 Buffelows, in all the[y] had Upwards of 20 hundred Wt Nothing Else happnd Extraordinary Untill the 30th Inst a messenger from the mandans came to the fort to Inform Our Officers that a hunting party of theirs was Robed by the Sues & Rees Indians, on the 27th last, of Eight horses and their meat that the[y] had killd, & Killd One of their men and wounded two Others.

[1] At this point begins handwriting No. 2, and continues over five pages of the MS., comprising the entries from November 1 to December 2 inclusive.— ED.

the[y] Apply^{d} for Some Assistance from the fort which Cap^{tn} Lewis & Clark Readly granted them. Twenty Men turnd Out Volentary Under the Command of Cap^{tn} Clark out of the fort to goe to fight the Sues the Guard Seat us Across the Missourie at Eleven Oclock at the fort the Cap^{tn} form^{d} his men On the S. W. Side of the river Missourie and told them off in Sections, from the right, and Sent out a Noncommissione^{d} Officer and a file of men on Each flank to Reconitere the woods at the distance of neerly One hundred Y^{ds} from the head of Company. After a march of 6 miles we Ariv^{d} at the first Village of mandans, with our two Interprators One of the mandans & one of the Grosvauinties, thinking to be Reign^{d} fors^{d} [reinforced] by a party of Each Nation With a Detachment from the Watesoons Nation like-ways, as they and [the] Groce Vaunties are Nigh Neighbours to the Mandans Nation but after we Ariv^{d} At the Village the Cheifs of Both Nations Concluded not to goe to fight as the weather was Cold and the Snow Upwards of 18 Inches Deep on the Ground, before Spring Nixt.

The Cap^{tn} & the party halted two hours at the Village he told the Cheifs and Warieres of the Mandans that he and his men was on the Ground Ready to Assist them And the[y] Should See that Him and his Men Could fight. After Some little Conversation with the Savages, we took our leave of them and Started for the fort we Cross^{d} the river between the first & Second Village On the Ise And came whome to the fort Ariv^{d} at dark the Evening was col^{d} Each Drank Some Good Spirits After which Reviv^{d} Us Very Much And Retir^{d} to Our Rooms Each.

December 1st

Nothing hapened Extraordinary Continued Picquiting in the huts.

2nd

the Big white a Cheif of the mandans Came to Our fort in the Morning to Inform Us that the Buffelow was Close to us a Comeing in Capt^{n} Lewis and 15 Men turn^{d} Out to Shoot

them the[y] kill[d] 10, and the Indians Kill[d] 50 the two Captains Lewis & Clark took it in turn day about with a party Each day to goe a hunting And had Great Success until the 15 inst. that the Buffelow got neerly twenty miles off Capt.[n] Clark and his party Returned on the Morning of the 16.[th] Inst. but Could find no game But two deer, the[y] Slept in the woods all night Some Snow fell that made the Air warmir On the Night of the 15.[th] Inst.

Monday 17 *Dec.*[r] 1

a cold day. Serg.[t] Gass fixed a horse Sled for one of the N. W. Comp.[y] traders to go to thier forts with. Some of the Mandans come & Informed us that the buffaloe had come near the River again.

Tuesday 18.[th] *Dec.*[r] 1804.

a verry cold day. 8 of the party went out to hunt, but Saw nothing but Some goats. the N. W. Comp.[y] tradors Set of this morning notwithstanding the coldness of the weather.

Wednesday 19.[th] *Dec.*[r] 1804.

a clear pleasant day. we began to Set up the pickets of our fort.

Thursday 20.[th] *Dec.*[r] 1804.

a quite warm day. the Snow melted fast. we continued on our work as usal.

Friday 21.[st] *Dec.*[r] 1804.

Still pleasant and warm. we continued on our work as usal &c.

Saturday 22.[nd] *Dec.*[r] 1804.

a clear pleasant warm day a great nomber of the natives came to the fort with corn beans and moccasons to trade. they take any trifling thing in exchange viz. — old Shirts buttons knives awls &c &c.

[1] At this point begins handwriting No. 1 (Whitehouse's), and all the remaining entries are by his hand, save part of the "Courses and Distances." — ED.

Sunday 23rd Decr 1804.

a clear pleasant day. we continued our work Setting up the pickets &c.

Monday 24. Decr 1805[4].

Some Snow fell this morning. about 10 oC cleared off a fair day. we finished our fortifycation. in the evening our Captains contributed to the party Some flour pepper dryed apples &c to celebrate the Chrisstmas.

Tuesday 25th Decr 1804.

we ushred [in] the morning with a discharge of the Swivvel, and one round of Small arms of all the party. then another from the Swivel. then Capt Clark presented a glass of brandy to each man of the party. we hoisted the american flag, and each man had another Glass of brandy. the men prepared one of the rooms and commenced dancing. at 10 oC we had another Glass of brandy, at one a gun was fired as a Signal for diner. half past two another gun was fired to assemble at the dance, and So we kept it up in a jovel manner untill eight oC. at night, all without the compy of the female Seck, except three Squaws the Intreptirs wives and they took no part with us only to look on. agreeable to the officers request the natives all Stayed at their villages all day.

Monday 31st Decr. 1804.

nothing particular occured Since christmas but we live in peace and tranquillity in our fort, visited dayly by the natives with Supplys of corn &c.

January 1st 1805. Tuesday.

2 Guns was discharged from the Swivel to celebrate the new year, a round of Small arms immediately after by each man of the party, a Glass of old ardent Spirits was given. a short time after Capt Clark gave another. about 10 oClock one of the Intrepters & one half of the party went up to the 1st village of Mandans by their request to dance. Some time after Capt Clark and 3 more men Came up also. the day was warm and pleasant. in the afternoon Capt Lewis Gave another glass, in the evening Capt Clark & Some of the party came home & Some Stayed all night.

Wednesday 2nd Janr. 1805.

Some Snow fell this morning. the rest of the men came from the village, about 10 oClock Capt Lewis & the rest of the party who had not been went up to the 2nd village, we danced and amused our Selves the greater part of the [day] which pleased the natives &c. in the evening the most of the men returned home. the natives keep their horses in their lodges with themselves every cold night dureing the winter Season & feed them on nothing but the branches of cotton wood which they cut off the Bark, which is Sweet & good. they live on it & look tollarably well.

Thursday 3rd Janr. 1805.

Some buffalow came near our fort, 9 men went out but killed none of them. one of the men killed a butiful white hair which is common in this country.

Friday 4th Janr. 1805.

the weather is not as cold as it was Some time past. Some hunters went out & 3 of [them] Stayed out all night, the rest came home. had killed one Small buffalow. in the evening it got verry cold and the wind blew verry hard all night.

Saturday 5th Janr. 1805.

a cloudy cold day. the 3 hunters which who went down the river a hunting on the 4th Inst returned on the 7th Inst they informed us that they had nothing the 2 first days to eat only one wolf which they killed. they informed us that it eat very well. they killed after that 4 Deer & 2 wolves. the weather continued verry Cold. nothing else remarkable hapened Since the 5th Instant.

Wednesday 9th Janr. 1805.

2 unexperienced hunters went out to day, the day proved to be very cold & Stormey, one of them returned to the fort about 8 oClock in the evening with one of his feet frost bit. the other Stayed out all night, in they morning Some men were going for them expecting they were froze, but they came in before they started well & hearty. Some of the Natives went

in the prarie a hunting, in the evening as they were returning one of them gave out. they left him behind. Some of his friends or his father went after him expecting to find him a Corps, but after they left him he came too So that he changed his position to the woods, & broke branches to lye on, so his life was Spared, but his feet was froze verry bad. they got him to our fort. Cap[t] Lewis doctered him. Some hunters went out the Same evening & Stayed out all night.

Friday 11[th] *Jan[y]* 1805.

2 of the hunters came to the fort had killed 3 Elk & dressed them & took the meat to their Camp. Some other of the hunters went lower down the river.

Saturday 12[th] *Jan[y]* 1805.

a clear cold day. Some of the men went down for the meat with a Slide [sled] two more hunters went out to day.

Sunday 13[th] *Jan[y]* 1805.

continues clear & cold a nomber of the natives went down the river to hunt, with our men. in the evening one of our Intrepters & a frenchman returned who had been up the river Some time to a nation of Indians called the osnaboins [Assiniboins] after fur &c their guide got froze so that they had to leave him their, & they got their faces frost bit So that the Skin came off. this nation live near the rockey Mountains, about 18 [80] or 90 miles from this place.

Monday 14[th] *Jan[y]* 1805.

Some Snow fell this morning. 6 more hunters went out to join the rest a nomber of the natives went out also, in the evening one of the hunters that went out fi[r]st Came to the fort, he informed us that they had killed one buffaloe a wolf & 2 porkapines, & I got my feet So froze that I could not walk to the fort.

Tuesday 15[th] *Jan[y]* 1805.

warm to what it has been. the man who went to the fort yesterday, Came down with 2 horses after me & Some meat, the day kept warm & pleasant.

Wednesday 16th *Jan*y 1805.

quite warm for the time a year & pleasant the Snow melted fast. I came to the fort & 2 more men with me my feet got Some easier.

Thursday 17th 1805.

about 3 oC. this morning the wind began to blow from the North & began to freeze. continued cold & the wind the Same course all day.

Friday 18th *Jan*y 1805.

clear cold weather 2 of our hunters came in had killed 4 Deer 4 wolves and one brarow. 2 men who belonged to the N. W. Compy that trades at the grossvauntares villages came to our fort this day they told us that these animals we called Brarows are a Specie of the Badgers, which are common in Europe.

Saturday 19th *Jan*y 1805.

2 men Sent with three horses down the River for meat to the hunting Camps, which is about 30 miles distant from the Fort. the way they go [is] on the Ice.

Sunday 20th *Jan*y 1805.

Some men went up to the villages. they informed us that they all used them verry well. gave them pleanty to eat, & when they had done eating they gave a bowl of victuls to a buffalows head which they worshiped, & Sd Eat this So that the live ones may come in that we may git a Supply of meat. Some of them & indeed the most of them have Strange & uncommon Ideas, but verry Ignorant of our forms & customs, but quick & Sensible in their own way & in their own conceit &c &c.[1]

[1] There is nearly half a page blank after this entry, across which a line is drawn to indicate the break in time.— ED.

CHAPTER VI

FROM NEAR MARTHA'S RIVER TO THE MUSSELSHELL

May 1–22, 1805

Wednesday 1st. day of May 1805

A CLEAR pleasant morning but cold. we Set off at Sun rise, the wind from the east. we Sailed Some. we passed high bluffs and round knobs on the S. S. and bottoms of timber on each Side of the River. the hills in general are not so high as they have been below, the country more pleasant, and the timber more pleanty. about 12 oClock the wind rose So high that we were oblidged to halt in a bottom of timber on the South Side. one cannoe lay on the opposite Shore & could not cross. I and one more was in the cannoe and ware obledged to lay out all night without any blanket. it being verry cold I Suffered verry much. Some of the party went out to hunt. they killed one buffaloe one Deer 2 beaver and one Goose. the party camped opposite to where I lay all night the man who was with me killd a Deer. (came only 10 miles to day)

Thursday 2nd May 1805.

at day light it began to Snow & blow So that we did not Set off this morning. Some men went out to hunt. Killed Some buffaloe & Some Deer. one of the party killd two beaver last night. the men who was out a hunting found Several peaces of red cloath at an Indian camp, where we expect they left last winter for a Sacrifice to their maker as that is their form of worship, as they have Some knowledge of the Supreme being, and anything above their comprihention they call big medicine. about 3 oC the wind abated & quit Snowing. we Set off. pro-

ceeded on. the [wind] had shifted and blew from the west. the Snow lay on the Edge of the Sand beaches where the wind blew it against the bank about 12 Inches Deep but their was not more than about one Inch on a level. Capt Clark & one of the party Shot 3 beaver on the South Shore. the air verry cold. we Camped on the N. S. at a handsom bottom partly covered with timber. came 5 miles to day.

Friday 3rd May 1805.

clear but verry cold for this month. we Set off about 7 oC & proceeded on the Standing water was froze over in places, & froze to our poles as we were working along. a white frost last night. the Ground is covered with Snow. the wind rose high from the west. we halted about one oC. at a bottom covd with timber on the N. S. Capt Clark who walked on Shore Since morning came to us had killed an Elk near Some men went & brought it in. one man went a Short distance along the bank and Shot a beaver. we have Saw Great Sign of beaver all day. the wind cold & high. we proceeded on Saw a Great many buffaloe on the ridges & plains. the Snow is all gone this evening. passed large bottoms & plains in the course of the day but no high hills. passed a creek on the S. S. Came 20 miles and Camped in a bottom on the N. S. as we were a landing it being after dark Got the Irons broke off the red perogue, which the rudder hung on. we passed a creek towards evening on the N. S. which came in at a sand bar. I forgot it.[1]

Saturday 4th May 1805.

clear & pleasant. we delayed Some time to mend the rudder which Got broke last night. we Set off about 9 Oclock and proceeded on. passed large bottoms covered with timber on each Side and Smoth [smooth] high plains back from the River. at a 11 oC. we passed the mouth of a Creek which came in on S. Side of the Missourie. proceeded on passed a beautiful plain on the N. S. where we Saw large Gangs of

[1] The last two sentences were added later, as is shown by the fact that they are crowded in before the next day's entry. — Ed.

buffaloe Elk & Cabberee or Goats. Camped in a bottom on the N. S. Came 22 miles to dav. we killed two Deer today.

Sunday 5th May 1805.

Clear and pleasant. we Set off eairly. one of the hunters lay on the S. S. last night, joined us at breakfast-time had killed two buffaloe Calfs. we proceeded on. Saw buffaloe Elk Deer & goats on each side of the River. passed bottoms and plains on each side. at 12 oC. we Saw 4 bair on a Sand beach on S. S. passed a handsom large plain on the N. S. we halted to dine on the South Side at a bottom of timber. our officers Gave out to the party a half a Gill of ardent Spirits. we Saw buffaloe and flocks of Goats. Jo. Fields verry sick. we proceeded on. towards evening, we killed a verry large bair in the River. the Natives call it white but it is of a light brown coulour the measuer of the brown bair is as follows. round the head is three-feet 5 Inches, d° the neck 3 feet 11 Inches, d° the breast 5 feet 10½ Inches. also round the middle of the arm one foot 11 inches. the length from the nose to the extremity of the hind toe is 8 feet 7½ Inches. the length of tallons 4 feet ⅜ Inches[1] his teeth or tuskes were allmost worn out. the toe nales ware worn Short. when we got him to Shore we halted for the night on the N. S. dressed the s^d brown bair found a fish in him, which he had caught & eat. we rendred out about 6 Gallons of Greese and did not render only a part of it he was not fat but reckened to be about 600 weight as he was killed. one of the hunters went out and killed an elk & Saw another bair nearly of the Same discription. Came 16 miles this day.

Monday 6th May 1805.

clear pleasant and warm. the wind from the east. we Sailed on verry well. Caught two beaver last night. Saw a brown bair Swim the River before us. about 2 oC. we halted to dine

[1] The words "feet" and "Inches" were inserted later; the former is evidently an error. — Ed.

at a handsom bottom covered with timber on the N. S. Cap^{t} Clark killed an Elk, a light sprinkling of rain, but did not last long. passed a bluff on S. S. and Some hills also. high plains & bottoms on the N. Side and on the S. S. Came about 27 miles in all this day, and Camped in a bottom of timber on the S. Side. the bottoms is all trod up by the Game, and different paths in all directions. &c. &c.

Tuesday 7th May 1805.

clear and pleasant. we Set off eairly. the wind rose from the East. we Sailed on untill about 12 oC. the wind rose so high that one of the cannoes filled with water we got it Safe to Shore, and halted for the wind to abate on the S. Side. Some men went out to hunt. two beaver was caught by Some of the men last night and Shot five more at this place. about 4 oC. we Set off and proceeded on verry well. passed handsom plains and bottoms on N. S. rough hills & ridges & bottoms on the S. S. Saw large gangs of buffaloe on each Side of the River. Came 15½ miles to day, & Camped on the S. S. Cap^{t} Clark and one hunter killed two buffaloe which we found to be good meat to Eat.

Wednesday 8th May 1805.

we Set off eairly. clouded up and rained Some the current Swift. we proceeded on under a fine breeze from the East, 20 m^{ls} by about 1 oClock then we passed the mouth of a River on N. S. about 200 yards wide and verry deep. it is 2100 miles from the mouth of the Missourie R. to the mouth of this River. we named this River Scolding or milk River. we halted on the point above the mouth to dine. Some men went a Short distance up this River. one of them killed a deer. about 2 oClock we proceeded on passed handsom bottoms thinly covered with timber on the River and high beautiful high plains on the N. S. and River hills on the S. S. Came 27 miles this day and Camped on a timbred bottom on the S. S. one man kill^{d} a beaver. we Saw a Great deal of beaver Sign all Sorts of Game on each Side R.[iver]

Thursday 9th May 1805.

clear and pleasant. we Set off at Sun rise and proceeded on about 9 oC. we halted to take breakfast in a beautiful Smoth bottom thinly or partly covred with timber on the S. S. Capt Clark killed two deer. the Game is getting So pleanty and tame in this country that Some of the men has went up near enofe to club them out of their way. about one oC. we passed the mouth of a large River which came in on the S. S. it is at high water mark about 437 yards wide, but the water at this Season of the year Sinques in the quick Sand So that their is none to be Seen at the mouth. this River is called [blank space in MS.][1] we halted to dine. Some of the party killed two buffaloe. proceeded on passed large bottoms covred with timber on each Side of the River Saw large gangs of buffaloe and elk on the Side of the hills in the bottoms and on the plains. Came 25 miles to day and Camped at the mouth of a creek (named warners River) on the N. S. Saw great deal of beaver Sign in the course of the day. the country for Several days back is pleasant, the Soil good, & the Game pleanty.

Friday 10th May 1805.

clear and cold. we Set of[f] about Sun rise and proceeded on. the wind rose from the N. W. came about 4 miles and halted for the wind to abate at a bottom covred with timber on the S. S. where the beaver had eat down considerable of a peace of Small timber Several of the party went out to hunt the wind rose high Some Squawls of rain. one of the men caught a nomber of fish. the hunters killed 1 fat buffaloe 4 beaver, and 3 Deer. Some of them Saw Some mooce Deer which was much larger than the common deer. our officers Inspected our arms &c. Camped here for the night.

Saturday 11th May 1805.

a clear cold morning, a white frost last night. Some of the party caught 2 beaver last night. we Set off eairly, and proceeded on passed black bluffs on the S. S. and hills on each

[1] This is the stream called by Lewis, Big Dry River. — Ed.

Side partly covred with low ceeder. we Saw large gangs of buffaloe in the bottoms on Each Side of the River. towards evening one of the party wounted a brown bair, and was chased by it to the perogues. Several hunters went to his assistance and killed it it was nearly of the Same discription as the other we killed Several days ago. we fount it fat and good meat. Cap^{t} Clark who walked on Shore killed 2 buffaloe and 2 deer (one beaver also). one of the men kill^{d} another buffaloe. we Saw hills on the N. S. partly covred with pitch pine the first we have Seen. the country begins to be hilley and broken, but verry rich Soil the bottoms on the River chiefly covred with cottonwood timber, which is filled with Game Some Smoth plains under the hills covred with wild hysop. we came 17 miles and Camped on the South Side before night on account of dressing the bair, which detained us untill night &c. passed 2 or 3 small runs to day, &c.

Sunday 12th *May* 1805.

a clear pleasant warm morning. we Set off Soon after Sun rise and proceeded on. passed the pitch pine hills on the N. S. one of the hunters killed a deer in a bottom on the S. S. Cap^{t} Clark killed a beaver in the River. passed a Small River on the N. S. the wind rose high from the N. W. we halted about one oC. to dine on the S. S. opposite the lower point of an Island covred with willows in the middle of the River. the wind detained us the remainder of the day. Some men went out hunting & killed Some Elk & Deer. Camped for the night. had come [blank space in MS.] miles this day. Squwls of rain this evening. &c.

Monday 13th *May* 1805.

the wind blew hard all last night. Some rain high wind and Squawls of rain this morning, So that we did not Set off eairly. Some men went out hunting and killed Several Elk and deer. about 2 oC. p. m. the weather cleared off pleasant. the wind abated and we Set off Some of the hunters had not returned. we proceeded on the current Swift passed hills on each Side which make near the River only the bottoms on the points &

in the bends. came 9 miles and camped in a bottom on S. S. the hunters joined us one of them had wounded a white or brown bear. we passed a creek at the lower end of this bottom, the Current verry Swift in the Missourie, came about 9 miles this day.

Tuesday 14th *May* 1805.

a hard white frost last night. our mocasons froze near the fire. a clear and pleasant morning. we Set off at Sun rise and proceeded on passed the mouth of a large creek on N. S. named [blank space in MS.][1] and a Small willow Island abv the mouth of Sd creek we Saw verry large gangs of buffaloe, on N. S. high rough black hills on each Side of the River. Some Spots of pitch pine on the hills on each Side of the River. about 1 oC. we halted to dine at [a] timbred bottom on the S. S. Capt Clark killed a buffaloe about 2 oC. we proceeded. we had passed the mouth of a large creek this fore noon on S. S. Sergt Gass Saw Some banks of Snow on the N. Side of Some hills. about 4 oClock P. M. we passed the mouth of a large creek on S. S. 100 yards wide at high water mark. we proceeded on at 5 oC. we Saw a verry large brown bear on the hills on S. S. Six men went from the cannoes to kill him they fired at him and only wounded him he took after them and chased 2 men in to a cannoe. they Shoved off in the River and fired at him Some of the men on Shore wounded him worse he then chased one man down a Steep bank in to the River and was near gitting hold of him, but he kept up Stream So that the bear could not git up to him. one of the men on Shore Shot the bear in the head, which killed him dead after having nine balls Shot in him. we got him to Shore and butchered him. his feet was nine Inches across the ball, and 13 in length, nearly of the Same discription of the first we killed only much larger his nales was Seven Inches long &c. the two captains ware out on Shore after a verry large gang of buffaloe the white perogue of the captains hoisted Sail as the wind blew fair. a violent Storm of wind arose from a black cloud in the N. W. the

[1] Lewis calls this Gibson's Creek. — Ed.

wind shifted in[to] N. W. and took the Sail of a Sudden and had it not been for the eairning [awning] and mast She would have turned up side down. She filled ful of water with much trouble they got her to Shore and unloaded hir found that the most of the loading was wet the Medicine Spoiled or damaged very much Some of the paper and nearly all the books got wet, but not altogether Spoiled. we opened all the loading, on the bank and Camped at a bottom covred with timber on the N. S. our officers gave each man a draghm of ardent Spirits, Came 18½ miles this day. (1 man wounded another bear).

Wednesday 15th *May* 1805.

cloudy. we delayed to dry the goods which was wet, opened them but Soon had to cover them again for a Shower of rain which lasted about one hour, then we opened them again. Several men out a hunting, they all returned towards evening. had killed one buffaloe 7 Deer and 4 beaver. Stayed here all day & dressed Skins &c.

Thursday 16th *May* 1805.

a heavy diew last night a clear pleasant morning. we opened the goods &c. in order to get them dry before we packed them up. Some of the men wounded a large panther in this bottom, as he was coverring up a deer which he had killed not long before. about 12 oClock Sergt Ordway killed a cabberree or antelope, a Specie of our goats. one of the party killed another which was mired in the mud. about one oC. we packed up our goods and loaded the officers perogue. about 3 oClock P. M. we set off and proceeded on. passed high broken hills & round knobs on each Side of the River and narrow bottoms. passed a Small willow Island near the N. S. we halted a fiew minutes at a bottom on N. S. and killed 2 buffaloe, 3 Deer and one buffaloe calf. Camped on the S. S. at a bottom covered with timber. came 7 miles to day.

Friday 17th *May* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set off eairly and proceeded on. passed high broken whiteish couloured hills, which wash

by rain, and make close to the River on each Side, the bottoms high and narrow. Some Spots of pitch pine on and between the hills on each Side, but the cottonwood gits Scarser. we Saw large gangs of Elk, but a fiew buffaloe. Saw a number of geese and goslings on the river. about 2 oC. we halted to dine at a Small bottom on S. S. where there was Some old Indian Camps. about 3 oC. P. M. we proceeded on towards evening we killed a brown bear, the first femal that we killed we passed a creek on the S. S., & verry high rough naked hills on each Side all this day. we Came 20¼ miles and Camped on a narrow plain on the South Side. Killed 2 Elk.

Saturday 18th May 1805.

a clear warm morning. one of the party killed a rattle snake. another caught a beaver. about 7 oC. we Set [out] and proceeded on. passed Some narrow bottoms of timber & covered with rose bushes. about 10 oC. clouded up and began to rain. we had Several Small Showers. about 12 oC Capt Clark killed a fat deer. we halted to dine and dry our Selves at a large bottom covered with timber on N. S. this bottom is filled with buffaloe Elk Deer &c one of the party killed 2 Elk. another killed a beaver. about 2 we proceeded on the weather cleared up and we had a pleasant afternoon the River water is gitting clear and gravelly bottom &c. we came 19 miles and Camped at a Smooth high bottom on S. S. N. B. (Capt Clark killed three deer)

Sunday 19th May 1805.

a heavy diew fell last night. a clear pleasant morning. we Set off as usal and proceeded on passed pitch pine hills on each Side of the river. about 10 oClock we killed a Small female brown bear on S. S. we took on board the meat & Skin and proceeded on. about 1 oC. we halted to dine at a bottom on the N. Side. Capt Clark killed 3 Deer. about 2 we proceeded on passed a handsom willow Island near the N. S. of River. passed pitch pine & ceeder hills as usal, & bottoms of timber on each Side of the River. we Came about 18 Miles and Camped at a bottom on the N. Side, where Capt Lewis killed an Elk & Some of the men killed 3 Deer. Some of the hunters killed 3 beaver to day.

Monday 20th May 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set off as usal. one of the hunters caught a beaver last night. abt nine oC. we passed the mouth of a Creek on the S. S. and a handsom bottom of c.[ot-ton] wood timber. one of the hunters killed a Deer another killed a beaver. we proceeded on passed pitch pine & ceeder hills on each Side [of the] River. about 11 oClock, we arived at the mouth of Mussell Shell River on the S. S. this River is 110 yards wide and the Missourie 222 yards wide at this place, and 2271 miles from the mouth of the Missourie River. we encamped here on the point between the 2 rivers which is a large bottom covered with C. wood timber. we delayed here all day for observations &c. found the latitude 47°, 24′ North the hunters killed at this place Eight Deer 4 Elk one woolf and remained here all the afternoon & Camped for the night 2 men Stayed out hunting beaver all night. we came only 6 miles this morning.

Tuesday 21st May 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. the 2 men returned who Stayed out all night had caught one beaver & killed a Deer.* they Swam across the Mussel Shell River before Sun rise. Soon after we Set off. another beaver was caught we proceeded on. passed timbred bottoms & hilly land on each Side, but the River hills are not So high, as they were for Some distance be-low. Some of the party yesterday discovered a high range of mountains to the west, a long distance off. we Saw Some old Indian Camps in a timbred bottom on N. S. where Capt Clark killed an Elk. about 1 oC. P. M. we halted to dine at a hand-som timbred bottom on the South Shore. one of the hunters killed an Elk. the wind rose So high from the N. W. that we delayed about 2 hours and proceeded on passed bottoms & pine hills as usal. Came about 15 Miles and Camped on a large Sand beach on N. S. one of the hunters killed a buffaloe another killed a beaver. the wind rose verry high Soon after we Camped, and made the Sand fly So that it was verry disagree-able the most of the party moved back towards the hills.

Wednesday 22nd May 1805.

the wind blew hard all last night (caught 2 beaver last night) and continues blowing this morning. Cloudy. about 11 oC. A. M. the wind abated So that we Set off and proceeded on passed a Small Island near N. S. and one Near the S. Side. the River hills make near the River. passed black bluffs the pitch pine close along Sd bluffs to the bank of the River. passed a Creek on the N. S. we wounded a brown bear in the River. abt 2 oC. we halted to dine at a handsom timbred bottom on the N. S. a cold chilly day. towards evening Some of the hunters killed a large brown bear. we Saved the Skin & greese. we Camped on the N. S. Came 16½ Miles to day. Sergt Ordway and one of the hunters killed a large buffaloe.

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE MUSSELSHELL TO MARIA'S RIVER

May 23–June 7, 1805

Thursday 23rd May 1805.

A COLD frosty morning. the Standing water was froze over. we Set off at Sun rise and proceeded on one of the hunters who went on Some distance & Stayed out all [night] joined us, had killed 5 deer. we passed bottoms killed [blank space in MS.] Deer in Sd bottoms passed pitch pine hills on each Side of the River. passed Several Small Islands in the River. about 2 oC. P.M. we halted and made fire to dine at a timbred bottom on N. S. one of the hunters took his rifle & bullett pouch on Shore the fire broke out into the woods, and burned up his shot pouch powder horn & the stalk of his rifle. about 3 oC we proceeded on passed pine hills as usal. towards evening we killed a brown bear in the river but he Sank in under a large drift of wood So that we could not git it. we Came 28 miles to day and Camped at a timbred bottom on the N. S. Some of the party discovered high Mountains to the west of us a long distance or as far off as their eyes could extend L. S.

Friday 24th May 1805.

clear & pleasant. we Set off as usal, & and proceeded on passed Several Creeks & Several Small Islands in the river passed pitch pine hills & timbred bottoms on each Side. about 3 oClock P. M. we halted to dine at a Small & narrow bottom covered with timber on N. S. Capt Clark who walked on Shore had killed a fat buffaloe Some of the party went for the meat, high black bluffs on the S. S. & a large creek which came

in a Short distance below. the wind from the S.E. So that we Sailed Some part of the time about 4 we proceeded on. 2 canoes waited for the five men to come with the meat. Came 24¾ miles to day and Camped at a bottom covered with c. wood timber [of] which the leaves were dead. they had been killed by the frost. the 2 canoes & 6 men Stayed behind all night. we Saw a nomber of old Indian Camps in the bottoms near the River.

Saturday 25th May 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we waited for the 2 canoes to come up. about 7 oC. they came. then we Set off and proceeded on. passed 2 creeks on the N. S. and one large one on the S. S. passed 2 Small Islands before noon about 12 oC. we passed a large handsom large Island covered with handsom c. wood timber, near the N. S. Saw Several Eagles nests. passed high bluffs & knobs and hills partly covred with pitch pine timber on each Side of the R. the wind blew from the N. W. about 3 oClock we halted to dine on a beautiful level thin timbred Island near the N. S. of the River. Capt Clark and one man who walked on Shore joined us had killed two Mountain Sheep, one a yew the other a ram. the ram had large horns which turned back of a gradual taper, they have the resemblence of our Sheep only fine brownish hair in Stead of wool. they were poor and not as large as the natives represented, but these are the first we have killed. about 4 oC. P. M. we proceeded on the current has been verry Swift for Several days. we passed river hills as usal. passed Several Creeks in the course of the day. Came 18 miles to day and Camped on the S. S. little above a high handsom Island in the river mostly prarie only a little large timber at the upper end of it. Gibson one of the hunters putt one of his Shoulders out of place to day but got it in again.

Sunday 26th May 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set off eairly and proceeded on. with the towing line under high bluffs which make near the River on each Side & are verry Steep & barron. Some

Spots of pine, but the most of the knobs and river hills wash by rains. passed high Clifts of Sand Stone on each Side. passed Several Creeks which appeared to be large, Some on each Side. passed Several Small Islands in the river. Some of the hunters killed 2 mountain Sheep or Ibex as Cap^{t} Clark calls them which were running along in flocks where the bluffs were to appearence nearly perpenticular we Suppose they keep on high Steep clifts & bluffs & mountains in order to keep out of the reach of other larger animals they are verry Suple & run verry fast. one of these Ibex which was killed to day, had verry large horns. the head & horns weighed 27 pounds, one of the hunters killed a hare which weighed 8½ pounds. we proceeded on with the towing lines all day towards evening we Came to a rapid place in the river, where the hills made close on each Side & high clifts of rocks. this rapid had considerable of a fall, which gave us Some trouble to git over our crafts but by towing & waiding in the water & holding the canoes from filling in the waves, we all got Safe over by dark, and Camped on the S. Side below a Small prarie Is^{d} at a Small bottom of timber where their was Several old Indian Camps. Cap^{t} Lewis & one of the hunters killed 2 buffaloe. we Came 22 miles this day.

Monday 27th May 1805.

pleasant weather. the wind high from the N. W. about 10 oC. we Set off and proceeded on with the towing lines. the current verry Swift. passed a great nomber of rapid places. passed verry high Steep mountains and clifts Steep precipices. these mountains appear to be a desert part of the country. they wash by rains, but a little rain in this part. no diews like other parts but barron broken rich Soil but too much of a desert to be inhabited, or cultivated. Some Spots of pitch & Spruce pine. the game is Scarcer than it has been. no grass nor timber for them to live in, but what Ibex or Mountain Sheep, Elk deer &c [there are] live on what little grass their is in the vallies and narrow plains on [the] river, which is covered with wild hysop rose bush & Some grass. Some different kinds of mint along the Shore. Saw mussel Shells also. the

Shore is Stoney & gravvelly. no falling in banks but the creeks drive the earth and gravvel in Some distance in the river which causes the most of the hard riffles, which we have had all day and had to double man our perogues to git them over Safe. one mountain ram or Ibex killed to day. we Came 13 m.ls to day, and Camped at an old Indian Camp on the S. Side [of] River we are 800 & 10 miles from the Mandans, 2415 [from the Mouth of the Missouri].

Tuesday 28th May 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set off and proceeded on. passed over hard riffles. the Bluffs & clifts are high [word illegible] as yesterday. ab.t 10 oC. Cap.t Clark killed a mountain Sheep & [figure illegible] Deer. about noon we halted to dine near Some old Indian Camps. Some thunder & Small Showers of rain which lasted about 2 hours. we then proceeded on a pleasant afternoon. towards evening the hills began to git lower passed large bottoms, partly covered with c. wood timber. passed Several Islands 7 or 8 in the course of the day, Some of them handsom groves of timber on them. we passed a nomber of large Creeks on each Side of the river, which force the Gravvel Stone from the hills in to the river. we Came 21½ miles & Camped in a bottom of the river on the N. S. a large Creek came in on the opposite Shore. we Saw a gang of Elk in this bottom, & beaver Signs [along] the Shores. a large bottom on the S. Side. we found an Indians (?) foot ball floating down the river & dog poles also.

Wednesday 29th May 1805.

Some clouday. a large buffaloe Swam the river last night, and came out across one of the perogues & broke a blunderbuss, & bent a rifle & came up the bank through the Camp & like to have tramped on Several of the men as they were a Sleep. we Set off as usal & proceeded on. passed the Mouth of a large Creek or 2, on the S. S. & bottoms of timber. about 10 oC. A. M. we passed a handsom bottom on the N. S. where about 100 lodges of Indians had lately

been camped. we Suspect it was a nation called the blackfoot Indians which live back from the River, to the Northward. we got Some of their dog poles. we proceeded on passed over hard rifles which was So rapid that caused high waves for Some distance below. passed Several Creeks on each Side of the river. about one oC. P. M. we passed high Steep clifts of rocks on the N. S. where the natives had lately drove a gang of buffaloe off from the plains. they fell So far on the uneven Stone below that it killed them dead. they took what meat they wanted, & now the wolves & bears are feasting on the remains, which causes a horrid Smell. Cap^{t} Clark killed a wolf with a Sphere [spear] near that place. we Saw Several brown bear on the mountains on the S. Side. about 3 oC. P. M. we passed the mouth of a large Creek or Small river on S. S. we halted [a] little above at a handsom bottom of timber on the N. S. began to rain, the wind rose high from N. W. So we Camped for the night. Some of the hunters went out in the plains. they Soon returned & Said it Snowed & hailed on the hills back from the river. our officers gave each man a draughm of ardent Spirits. one of the hunters killed an Elk. hard rain this evening. we had come 18 miles to day through a Mountaneous desert Country. Saw a nomber of geese on the river. one man killed one of them.

Thursday 30th 1805.

Cloudy & rain, the wind high from the N. W. we delayed untill about 10 oC. then Set off, though disagreeable working. passed white Straight range of Clifts on the S. S. proceeded on with the towing lines about 5 miles & halted to dine on the N. S. Some of the hunters Shot an Elk. cold chilly wind & rain. passed a Camp wher 29 lodges of the blackfoot Indians had lately been & left piles of mussel Shells at each fire. Came 8 miles. we Camped at a handsom narrow bottom covered with thin c. wood timber, where 50 or 60 lodges of Indians had lately been Camped. they were gone as we expect up the river. they left Several lodge poles & considerable of fire wood gathered. 2 of the hunters went across the river on the hill & killed 2 buffaloe.

Friday 31st *May* 1805.

cloudy. we Set off as usal. the canoes crossed the river & the men went for the meat which was killed last night. one of the hunters killed an Elk. we proceeded on. abt 11 oC. began to rain, rained moderately for Some time. we passed verry high clifts of rocks, halted at 12 oC. to dine. our Captains gave each man a draughm of Spirits as it was wet. Capt Lewis killed a fat buffaloe, & Some of the hunters killed 2 more but lost one of them in the river. abt 1 oC. we proceeded on passed high white clifts of rocks & Some pinecles [pinnacles] which is 100 feet high from the Surface of the water. Some verry high black walls of Stone also on each Side of the river, which is curious to see. we Saw a brown bear on the N. S. Some of the hunters went out in order to kill it. passed Straight white clifts of rocks on the S. Side Came 17½ miles & Camped at a handsom bottom covered with c. wood timber on the N. S. which was the first timber we Saw to day except a fiew Scatering trees along the Shore and a fiew ceeders on the hills. the current has been Swift all this day. the hunters came in at dark had killed 1 black taild Deer 2 Ibex or mountain Sheep (rams) which had handsom large horns. we took care of the horns in order to take them back to the U. States. a pleasant evening. (one man Saw a large pond or Small lake, out in the plains on South Side.)

Saturday 1st *June* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning we Set off eairly & proceeded on. passed Steep clifts of white rocks which had villages of little birds, built along the projecting rocks. one of the party killed a Mountain ram or Ibex which had fine horns. we passed handsom bottoms of c. wood & box elder timber on each Side. Saw old Indian Camps at a bottom on N. S. passed a Creek on N. S. & Straight bluffs. passed Several Small Islands. about one oC. P. M. we passed a beautiful large Island covered with large & Small timber Saw Some Elk on it. the hills & bluffs are not So high on the river as they have been for Some time. about 2 oC. we halted to dine and air our goods

&c. the wind rose from the S. E. the river bears to the South, handsom baron plains back from the river. we Saw Mountains a Short distance from the river on the N.S. and on the S. S. at a considerable distance up the river. about 3 oC. we proceeded on passed a Creek on the N. S. passed Several Islands covered with timber. passed a Straight clift of rocks Steep from the Surface of the water about 100 feet perpinticular. passd handsom high plains on each Side. Came 24 miles & Camped on the 7th Isld a Small Island covered with timber. had passd 2 [a] little below.

Sunday 2nd June 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set off as usal & proceeded on. about 9 oC. Some of the hunters killed a buffalow and an Elk. passed high bluffs on each Side, high plains, narrow bottoms and Islands. passed a creek on the N. S. and one on the S. Side about 12 oC. killed another Elk. about 1 oC. we halted to dine at a bottom of timber on the N. S. Some of the men killed another buffaloe. the wind high from the N.W. clouded up. the current is not So Swift yesterday & to day as it has been Some time past. we git along verry well with the towing lines. a Small Sprinkling of rain. about 2 oC. we proceeded on passed Several Islands of cotton wood bluffs & high land towards evening the hunters killed a yallow bear in a bottom of cotton wood on S. S. we Came 18 miles & Camped at a fork of the river. we could not determine which was the Missourie. the hunters killed 6 Elk in all to day. we Saw a high mountain to the west of us. one hunter man Shot a large beaver this evening.

Monday 3rd June 1805.

a fair morning. we delayed untill 8 oClock then moved our Camp over to the point between the two rivers. two Small canoes were unloaded and a Sergeant and 2 men I was one of them Sent in each up the 2 rivers to See what discoveries they could make. Some men went out a hunting also. their is 3 Islands in the Mo. [of the] left hand river, which is the largest & Swiftest river. Some men went out towards a mountain

covred with Snow to the South of this place. the Captains walked out on the high hills in the point they observed a level country to the foot of the mountain which lay South of this also a River which falls in to the right hand fork about 1½ miles up from the mouth on the Lard. Side. This little River discharges a great deal of water & contains as much cotton timber as either of the others. they Saw buffalow & antilopes, wild cherries red & yallow berrys goose berrys &c. abound in the river bottoms, prickley pairs on the high plains the Captains had a Meridian altitude & the Latitude produced was 47°, 24′, 12″ North, the after part of the day proved cloudy. Capt Clark measured the [width of] each River & found the one to the right hand to be 186 yards wide of water and the left hand fork 372 yards wide & rapid, the right hand fork falling [into] the other at a Stand & clear. the right hand fork & the river which fall[s] into it is couloured, and a little muddy. Several of the party complain of their feet being Sore by their walking in the Sand & cut by the Stones. we to be Sure have a hard time of it oblidged to walk on Shore & haul the towing line and $^{9}/_{10}$ of the time barefooted. in the evening the men all returned had been about 15 miles up each river but could not determine which was the Missourie, nor which would be our best course. our officers & all the men differ in their opinions which river to take. we expect the right hand fork would take us too far to the North, the left hand fork we expect heads in the mountains. however the officers conclude to leave the party here, and go by land with a Small party up each river, in order to find out which will be the best for us to take. the hunters killed 4 buffaloe 3 Elk 3 beaver & Deer &c. the Capts Gave each man a dram of ardent Spirits. I killed 2 Elk myself to day, as I was up the left fork as a Spye.

Tuesday 4th June 1805.

Capt Lewis & 6 men Set out to go up the Right hand fork. Capt Clark & 5 more Set out to go up the left hand fork. they intend to go about one day & a halfs walk up the rivers & See what discoveries they can make. Some of the men at

camp killed 2 faun Elk close by the camp for their Skins, to dress. the day proved cloudy. a fiew drops of rain towards evening, & high cold wind from the N. E. 2 men who had been from camp a hunting returned had killed an Elk & a Deer, & had Set 2 traps for beaver. cloudy all day.

Wednesday 5th June 1805.

the wind blew high from the N.E. all last night. a cloudy cold windy morning. one beaver caught in a trap last night. I Stayed in Camp dressing Skins for to make myself moccasons &c. one of the men by the name of goodrich has caught a considerable quantity of Small fish. Some of them Skale fish the most part are a sort of Smallish sized cat fish. we have caught no large ones this Season as we did last as yet &c.

Thursday 6th June 1805.

a cold cloudy morning. the wind blew cold from the N. E. Some of the men went from Camp a Short distance and killed 2 buffalow one fat Elk 2 Deer 1 mule & one common Deers, 2 antilopes &c. a light Sprinkling of rain to day. about 2 oClock P.M. Capt Clark & his party returned to Camp. they informed us that the South fork is the most probable branch to our course which Capt Clark alowed we would take. they had been about 40 miles up the South fork. when they got about 8 miles from our Camp they found a beautiful Spring of water, where the Small river was not more than 200 yards from the South fork. they refreshed themselves at the Spring with a drink of good grog. they Saw but little game on this river. they passed through high plains, where nothing groes but Short grass & prickley pears. the course of the river as far as they went about S. W. they Saw a mountain to the South of them covred with Snow. one of the men by the name of J°. Fields was att[a]c[ke]d by an old hea bear, which would have killed him if the rest of the party had not been in hearin to have fired at him which made him turn his course. they killed 3 bear & eat a part of one of them, & returned by way of the middle branch which they came down & killed in its bottoms a nomber of fat Elk Deer & Saw wolves antelopes &

beaver &c. the bottoms of this middle river is like thee bottoms below the forks, covered with timber. Some cotton trees with a leaf like the leaf of cherry. they Saw wild tanzey &c. Capt Lewis & party did not return this evening. the party has been employed dressing Skins &c.

Friday 7th June 1805.

rained the greater part of last night. a Cloudy wet morning. Some men went out to hunt, and killed 2 Deer, rained moderately all day. Capt Lewis & his party has not returned yet. we expect the reason is owing to the badness of the weather. nothing further occured this day.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM MARIA'S RIVER TO THE GREAT FALLS OF THE MISSOURI

June 8–20, 1805

Saturday 8th June 1805.

SOME cloudy. the wind blew cold from the S. W. Several men went out to hunt. about 9 oC. cleared off pleasant. the Indian goods &c put out to air. we Saw the high mountain to the west of us covered with Snow. the South fork of the Missourie is high & of a yallow coulour to day, & the North fork more white & rile than before, owing as we expect to the rains & Snow melting above, on the mountains. about 3 oClock P. M. Capt Lewis & party returned to Camp, & Informed us that they had been about 60 miles distant up the north fork, had traveled through high plains the greater part of the way. they found that the N. fork keeps its bigness, pleanty of water, considerable of timber in the bottoms & an amence cite [sight] of game. they killed a great deal of Elk Buffalow Deer &c. &c. but Capt Lewis thinks that the N. fork bears too far North for our course to cross the Mountains, for if we Should take the wrong River, we Should have more mountains to cross & further to go by land to git to the Columbia River, which we have to descend to the west. So the Capts conclude to take the South fork & proceed, and named the North fork *River Mariah*, but it has the resemblence of the Missourie below the forks in everry respect, & the middle fork they name *Tanzey River* the water &c. of which resembles the Missourie also. the men in Camp generally employed Dressing Skins &c. towards evening the hunters all returned had killed sevl Elk 13 deer and one beaver. the wind blew from the East, a light Shower of rain this evening.

Sunday 9th June 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. 2 men of the hunters went out & killed a verry fat buffalow. took Eight men to bring in the meat. Several men Sent out to the bluffs back in the point, to dig a hole called a Cash to burry Some of the articles which we can Spare best, So that we might have them Safe when we come back &c. the wind rose high from the west. towards evening we had a frolick. the officers gave the party a dram, the fiddle played and they danced late &c. we had a light Shower of rain late in the evening. rope works made.

Monday 10th June 1805.

a beautiful pleasant morning. the party employed Some makeing a towing line for the white perogue, others employed digging another hole So that we might bury in different places what we left So that if the Savages Should find one perhaps they would not find the other & we would have Some left Still. about 10 oClock we halled up the red perogue on an Island, on the North Side of the N. fork which was covered with Small cotton timber. we halled it among the thicke[st] of trees & ran the bow between two & pined hir on each Side & covered hir over with bushes, & Secured hir as well as possable, branded Several trees with the U. S. mark & Capt M. Lewis & Latd &c. The black Smiths fixed up the bellowses & made a main Spring to Capt [Lewis's] air Gun, as the one belonging to it got broke. the articles which we Intend to bury all got ready. the loading which came out of the red perogue divided out to the White perogue & canoes & loaded them. put a Canister of powder & led accordingly in the ground near the point, between the two Rivers at our Camp. about 4 oClock P. M. we had a light Shower of rain. the evening pleasant.

Tuesday 11th June 1805.

a Clear pleasant morning. about 8 oClock Capt Lewis, George Drewyer, G. Gibson, Jo. Fields & Silas Goodrich Set out for the South Snowey mountain. we put in the carsh or

hole 1 keg of powder 1 bar led, 1 keg flour 1 keg pork 2 kegs parched meal the bellowses & tools augur plains Saw &c. some tin cups a dutch oven, a corn hand mill, packs of beaver, bear Skins horns Buffalow Robes &c. &c. the Blacksmiths compleated repairing the fire arms. the carsh or hole on the high land dug deeper and compleated burrying the heavey articles &c. we got in readiness to ascend the South fork. we have caught more Small fish Since we lay here than we made use of, and one kind of Small flat Scale fish that we never Saw the kind before.

Wednesday 12th *June* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we burryed 3 traps which was forgot yesterday, and Set out about 7 oClock from Camp or point Deposit 2508¼ mls from mouth, and proceeded on up the South fork which we Still call the Missourie R. passed a great nomber of Islands (5 or 6 at least by noon) before we had got out of cite of the point, which was covered with cotton timber. one of the party caught a beaver on one of them in a trap which he Set last night. passed high black & yallow bluffs on each Side & handsom Smooth plains on each Side. Saw Elk antelopes & Geese &c. found Some penerial [pennyroyal] the first we Saw on the River. the current verry Rapid. three of the (G. D.)[1] canoes like to have overset & one in great danger. Several Rattle Snakes has been Seen by the party to day. one man took hold of one with his hand, which was in a bunch of bushes, but luckily he escaped being bit. Our Intrepters wife verry Sick. Capt Clark killed this evening one Elk & a Deer. Some other of the hunters killed 1 or 2 more. we passed in the course of the day a number of gravvelly Islands & bars. the Shore on each Side is covered with Stone of different Sizes. we Came *18 miles* to day & Camped at a handsom bottom of cotton wood on the N. Side, where the Elk & Deer was killed.

[1] These letters, G. D., are inserted in the MS. above the line. Possibly they are the initials of George Drouillard, the hunter. — Ed.

Thursday 13th June 1805.

a beautiful pleasant morning. we Set out at an eairly hour & proceeded on. passed the Mouth of a Small River on the South Side about 50 yards wide & rapid current & of a muddy coulour. I went over the River to See it. large bottoms of cotton timber for Some distance up. we named it Snowey River, as we expect it comes from the Snowey Mountain, to the South of us. passed verry high bluffs on each Side Some Small bottoms of cotton timber we Saw abundance of wild or choke cherries & a kind of yallow current, Such as I never Saw before. the Goose berrys are now ripe & abound in the River bottoms. we came 14 miles to day & Camped on the South Side. I was taken verry Sick to day, & a violent head ack. 2 deer & [word illegible] buffalow killed to day.

Friday 14th June 1805.

a fare pleasant morning. 2 men lay out all last night, which walked on Shore one [with] a lame hand the other 2 sick.[1] we proceeded on. passed the place where Capt Lewis had camped as he went up. had left 2 bear Skins & fat one Deer Skin which they had killed. 2 of the men lay by it last night. at breakfast we came up to the other man which had killed 2 buffalow & a deer. we proceeded on passed verry high bluffs on each Side, & Several Islands of cotton timber. the current verry rapid all day. our Intrepters wife verry Sick & I am verry Sick myself. about 4 oC. P. M. we met one man which Capt Lewis Sent back to meet us. he informed us that he came from the falls today, & that they were verry bad, &c. about 20 miles from us above, & that Capt Lewis & the other three men was a going to the head of the falls, in order to examine how far it was before we could take water again. we went 10 miles to day through a verry rapid current, and Camped at a Small bottom on the Lard Side. we Saw a nomber of dead buffalow floating down the River which we expect was killed in the falls.

[1] The figure 2 is, in the MS., inserted with a caret, apparently at a later time; possibly it is meant thereby that both men were sick, and that one had, in addition, a lame hand. — Ed.

Saturday 15th June 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out at the usal hour. proceeded on. passed the rapidest water I ever Seen any crafts taken through, at noon we halted at the Mouth of a creek on the Lard Side which we named Strawberry creek, their being a great quantity of Strawberry vines about it. a handsom rapid Stream, the bottoms of it coverd with Small cotton timber. 2 of the hunters went a Short distance up this Stream & killed 2 Deer. choak cherrys, Goose berrys and yallow currents abound on the banks of the Streams in this country. the afternoon verry warm. we proceeded on. passed redish couloured bluffs on each Side of the River which were high rough & in places clifts of dark Rocks. in the evening we came to a bad rapid which we concluded to not undertake to pass untill morning. So we Camped below on the Stard Side. the wood here Scarse. one man Sent to the falls, for Capt Lewis. we Came only 12 miles to day by exerting our Selves as much as possable with the towing line.

Sunday 16th June 1805.

we had a Shower of rain & high wind the fore part of last night. a clear morning. all hands went over the Rapids 1st with the canoes about 1 mile & then went back and took up the perogue, and halted to wait the arival of Capt Lewis, &c. their being a rapid a Short distance above which is impossable to pass with loaded crafts. we caught a considerable quantity of Small flat Scale fish at this place. about 12 oC. Capt Lewis & the men who accompanied him joined us. Capt Lewis informed us that he had been 15 miles up the River above the first bad Rapids or Shoot & that the falls continued all that distance in 5 different Shoots, but Some higher than the rest, but the highest about 50 feet perpenticular & verry Rapid water between each Shoot roling waves & white brakers. Capt Lewis informed us that the Lard Side would be the best for us to carry our goods and baggage by the falls, also the canoes. So we crossed over to the Lard Side and unloaded the canoes & crossed them back to the Stard Side empty and towed them

up the rapid about a mile. then crossed them back to the Lar.d Side again, in order that we might git them up a Small River which comes in below the next Shoot to a more convenient place to git them up the bank on to the plains. this little River comes in on Lar.d Side close below the next Shoot. opposite to the mouth of this little River on S. S. a beautiful Sulpher or mineral Spring rises out of the Side hills. it is a verry Strong Sulpher water. we git & drink freely of it. in the bottoms is a considerable of wild flax growing all in blossum. Cap.t Lewis's party had prepared & dryed buffalow meat and had caught & dryed a large quantity of fine fish, which we call Salmon troute.

Monday 17.th June 1805.

a cloudy morning. Some men employed taking the canoes up the little River about 1¾ miles. 6 men employed makeing Small low waggons to hall the canoes and baggage by the carrying place above the falls. Cap.t Clark and five men went to Survey & measure the distance up to the head of the falls, to where we can take water again, & to look out a road for us to go up with the waggons &c. 2 hunters out to git Elk Skins to put our Iron boat together above the falls, as we leave our largest craft here. the timber is verry Scarse above the falls. verry high plains the buffalow pleanty. in the evening we got the canoes up the Small River to the falls of it which is about 4 feet perpenticular. we had Some difficulty in gitting them up the rapids to day, as well as a dangerous job. one canoe turned upside down in a bad rapid, & was near drowning the 2 men which was in hir. Several others filled with water but we haled them up Safe to the place convenient at the falls to take them up the bank. we caried them out on a livel & turned them up on edge to dry.

Tuesday 18.th June 1805.

a fine pleasant day. in the morning all hands halled out the White perogue, in a thicked of bushes below the bank & covered hir with bushes &c. & Secured hir Safe. 3 men Sent

out a Short distance to a knob to dig a carsh or hole to deposite Some of our baggage in, for we mean to leave all we can Spare at this place. Some men at Sorting & repacking the Indian Goods &c. about 12 oC. the 2 hunters came in had killed 10 Deer but no Elk. in the evening we Saw Some buffalow on the opposite Side of the River. Some of the hunters went over and killed 2 of them. the low waggons finished which are all made of wood, & of an ordinarry quality though they may answer the purpose. the wind high from the West.

Wednesday 19th 1805.

a clear cool morning. Several men Sent for the meat across the River which was killed last night. the wind verry high from the West. our Intrepters wife Some better. three men Sent over the River to go up to the head of the falls to a river which falls in on that Stard Side, Called medicine River, to hunt in order to prepare Elk Skins for the Iron boat. we prepare to move the goods & baggage &c. Saw large gangs of buffalow on the Side hills on the opposite Shore. the wind continues high all day. we are now 2580 odd miles from the mouth of Missourie.

Thursday 20th *June* 1805.

Some cloudy & cold. the wind continues high from the west. three or 4 men went across the River to hunt &c. we lay at Camp at the commencement of the carrying place, to wait the arival of Capt Clark & party. a light Squall of rain about noon. in the afternoon Some of the hunters came in had killed 11 buffalow the most of them verry fat. all hands turned out after the meat, but could not fetch more than half of what was fat. 3 men Stayed all night to butcher the remainder of the buffalow, which lay dead. Saw large gangs come about close to the men which was dressing the meat &c. a little rain. in the evening Capt Clark & party returned. they informed us that they traversed the River going up & measured the falls & river found the first to be about 30 feet the highest or middle 87 feet the upper one a 45 feet all of which is perpinticular. a continued rapids between each other.

they found it to be 17 miles to the head to where we can take water again. two men was attacted by a verry large White bear one of them A Willard near being caught. Cap^{t} Clark went & relieved them & 3 men with him. but night comming on & the bushes thick it being on an Island they did not kill it. they Saw 1 or 2 other white bear. they Saw also innumerable gangs of buffalow & killed 8 of those animels, & one beaver. they Saved as much of the buffalow meat as possable. 1 mile above the fall of 47 feet 8 Inches is the largest fountain or Spring, as they think is the largest in america known. this water boils up from under the rocks near the river & falls immediately into the river 8 feet & keeps its coulour for ½ a mile which is clear & of a blueish cast. they inform us that their is many Shoots or little falls between the high ones. the large catteract or falls is a large mist quite across the fall, for a long distance from them. Cap^{t} Clark Saw rattle Snakes but Saw verry little timber. they turned back this morning in order to look out the best & Smoothest portage possable to take the canoes & baggage &c. up to the medicine River. they informed us that the Country above the falls & up the meddicine River is level with low banks & Smoth water. they Saw a chain of mountains to the west, Some of which particular those to N. W. & S. W. are covered with Snow, & appear to be verry high. Cap^{t} Clark lost a part of his notes which could not be found, as the wind blew high & took them off. they did not look out & marke the road for the baggage &c much more than half way down to Camp it being too late to go round the deep gulleys &c. Cap^{t} Clark Saw gangs of buffalow attempt to Swim the river ab^{v} the falls. Some went over.

Chapter IX

PORTAGING AROUND THE GREAT FALLS

June 21–July 14, 1805

June 21st Friday 1805.

A FINE morning the wind from the S. W. off the Mountains & hard. Capt Lewis with the men except a fiew take a part of the baggage &c. & a canoe up the Hill better than a mile in advance. Several men employed in Shave[in]g & graining Skins Elk hides for the Iron boat as it is called. the meat was brought in & the men returned which Stayed out to dress the buffalow last night. they killed 2 or 3 deer and a buffalow calf & a Small Elk. we Saw innumerable numbers & gangs of buffalow & calfs on the high plains on Stard Side of the Missourie.

Saturday 22nd June 1805.

a fair pleasant morning. the wind as usal. the party all raised up eairly. Capt Lewis and Clark with all the party except 3 Set out with a waggon & baggage to take the canoe & loading which was halled on the hill yesterday up to the upper end of the portage, where we Shall form a Camp. Capt Lewis & 3 or 4 men carried all their baggage in order to Stay up their, in order to git the Iron boat in readiness &c. the buffalow around the lower Camp verry thick Some gangs Swam the River Capt Clarks Servant york killed one which was verry fat. Capt Clark informed us that he Saw 40 or 50 Swimming the River abv the falls and Some went down over them which he could not See them rise any more. a nomber got to Shore half drowned. in this way great numbers of those animels are lost and accounts for So many as we Saw lying on the Shores below the falls ever Since we came from

the Mandans & Grossvauntares but a vast deal pleantier near them. the country in general is verry high. no timber back from the river and but verry little on the river, but bluffs & high Clifts the most of the Shores. we are a little South of the Mandans, but have had no verry hot weather as yet.

Sunday 23rd *June* 1805.

the wind has Shifted to the East. Cloudy. a light Sprinkling of rain. in the afternoon one of the hunters came in from the Medicine River & informed us that one man G. Shannon left them the first day he left this place, & took with him a Small kittle & Some parched meal which was for the hunters, and that the other 2 had killed 16 buffalow and a fiew Deer but Saw no Elk. had dryed considerable of fat buffalow meat at their Camp on the Medicine River. in the evening Capt Clark and party came in from the upper Camp & I with them & informed us that they had Some difficulty with their truck waggons as they broke Sundry times. Capt Clark Surveyed & measured the remainder of the portage, and looked out the best way for the truck waggons & baggage to Go, and made the distance to the upper camp to where we take water again to be 18 miles a Strait course. they put up mile half mile ¼ mile & a half quarty mile Stakes as well as Several flags as guides for the portage or carrying place &c. Capt Lewis & 3 men Stayed at the upper Camp, to prepare the Iron boat &c. &c.

Monday 24th *June* 1805.

a fair morning. we halled out the last canoe, & turned hir up to dry. all the party present Set out eairly with a waggon & baggage &c. for the upper Camp. we had Some difficulty in gitting the loading up on the high plains to where the canoes were left last night, though after a little fatigue we got all the loading which we intended carrying at this load in 2 Canoes & proceeded on to a creek called willow creek 7 miles from the lower Camp & halted to refresh ourselves. made a tongue to one of the truck waggons, & proceeded on the wind blew Steady from the S. East. we hoisted a Sail in the

largest canoe which helped us much as 4 men halling at the chord with a harness. passed through high Smoth delightful plains. Saw a nomber of antelopes & buffalow. towards evening when we were within about 3 miles of the upper Camp, their came up of a Sudden a violent thunder Shower & rained a mazeing hard, for about 15 or 20 minutes, in which time the water Stood on the ground over our mockasons. our water being all gone and all the men thursty drunk harty out of the puddles. at dusk we arived at the upper camp, and unloaded found Some of the baggage wet by the raining in the canoes &c. we found Shannon here. he had been incamped up the medison River. he had killed 3 buffalow 8· Deer & several antelopes but no Elk.

Tuesday 25th *June* 1805.

a cloudy morning. we Set out with the 2 truck waggons, and returned back to the lower camp for another load. took up 2 canoes on the high plains. the day proved pleasant and warm the party much fatigued halling the truck waggons & the baggage. Saw large gangs of buffalow and antelopes to day. the evening clear and pleasant. we got our loads ready to Start from this for the upper Camp. mended our mockasons &c. below the falls the plains are inferior in point of Soil to those below, more Stones on the Sides of the hills, Grass but a fiew inches high and but a fiew flowers in the plains. Great quantities of choke cherries, goose berrys, red & yallow berrys & red and purple currents on the Edges of the water. we catch great quantities of Trout, and a kind of a mullet flat backs &c. a Soft fish resembling a Shad, and fiew cat fish &c. Sergt pryor Sick. the party all of us amused ourselves with dancing untill 10 oC. all in cheerfulness and good humor. we all harnised up our back loads of the baggage to make an eairly Steart in the morning.

June 26th *Wednesday* 1805.

Some rain last night. this morning verry cloudy. the party Set out eairly with our loads to the canoes consisting of pearched meal pork powder lead axes tools Bisquit and portable Soup &c. we proceeded on with the 2 canoes & Some

baggage. verry hot Sun beat down on us as the day proved fair. we halted at willow creek and made up a fiew dumplings & broiled a little fat buffalow meat & we Saw great numbers of buffalow on the plains in every direction. the plain[s] appear to be black with them. Some antelope and Deer. the wolves pleanty. I took sick this evening I expect by drinking too much water when I was hot. I got bled &c.

June 27th Thursday 1805.

a fair warm morning. I feel Some better but not able to go back to the lower Camp So I remained with Capt Lewis. Sergt Ordway and three men went down by the River to See the falls and Spring &c about 4 oClock we had a hard Shower of rain which made the portage so Slipperry we did not expect they would Start from the lower Camp tomorrow with a load of baggage as usal.

June 28th Friday 1805.

a fair morning the wind from the South. I remained with Capt Lewis assisting with the Iron boat &c.

June 29th Saturday 1805.

a little rain verry eairly this morning. after clear and pleasant. in the afternoon their arose a storm of hard wind and rain and amazeing large hail at our Camp we measured & weighed Some of them, and Capt Lewis made a bowl of Ice punch of one of them they were 7 Inches in Surcumference and weighed 3 ounc[e]s. as luck would have it we were all That Stay at this camp Safe in a Shelter but we feel concerned about the men on the road.

June 30th Sunday 1805.

a fair morning. I remained Still at the upper Camp assisting with the Iron boat Sowing Skins together &c. &c. the hunters kill Some buffalow and 3 white bear. one verry large the fore feet of which measured 9 inches across, & the head t[w]o feet 11¼ Inches long and 7 Inches wide a bear [came] nearly catching Joseph Fields chased him in to the water bear about the Camp everry night, and Seen on the Islands in the day time. we look for Capt Clark & party.

July 1st Monday 1805.

pleasant and warm. we continued on with the Iron boat as usal. about 3 oClock Capt Clark and party arived with the last canoe and the most of the baggage. the remainder left only out at the 6 mile Stake. they informed us that the wet weather was what detained them and that they were out in the hail Storm but as luck would have it, the hail was not So big as they were here. Capt Clark was at the falls at the time had hunted a Shelter in a deep creek with out water when he went in but before the Shower was over the creek rose So fast that he and 3 more who were with him had Scarsely time to git out before the water was ten feet deep. Capt Clark lost the large Compass a fusiee pouch & horn powder & ball, and Some cloaths &c. the party who were halling Some of them like to have lost their lives, being nearly naked and the most of them without any hats on their heads or anything to cover them and under went as much as any men could and live through it.

July 2nd Tuesday 1805.

Some rain at day light this morning after which a fair morning. the men who came in yesterday Set out with the truck waggons to go back to the 6 mile Stake for the Boxes and kegs which was left yesterday &c. we that Stayed at Camp Set at gitting timber &c. for the Iron boat. Musquetoes verry troublesome to day. about 2 oClock the party arived with the last of the Baggage. they killed 3 buffalow and one antelope. we put our fire arms in order and about 4 oClock the 2 Captains and the most of the hunters went over on an Island to hunt bear they killed one and Saved the Skin and greece.

July 3rd Wednesday 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. Sergt Gass and 2 men Set out to go down and See the falls & large Spring &c. the men at [camp] employed puting the leather on the Iron boat &c. Some burning tar to put on it. we overhalled the Baggage and found Some mice & killed a large curious rat with hair on

his tail. we fixed Scaffels to keep the Bags &c from the ground and from the rats. a light Sprinkling of rain in the afternoon. George Drewyer Cap[t] Lewis' hunter at the upper Camp killed 2 large handsom otter and three beaver. in the evening 2 men went out a Short distance from Camp and killed a fat buffalow. Some men went for [the] meat. Serg[t] Gass and the man returned from the falls, had killed Six buffalow and Saved only the brains and tongues. we got the leather on the Iron boat, and took it apart. 8 Sep[r] Sections (2 men burning a tar kill)

July 4[th] Thursday 1805.

a clear beautiful morning. the most of the men employed putting the Sections of the Iron boat together &c. &c. one of the hunters went on bear Island and killed an Elk and a beaver. we finished putting the Iron boat together and turned hir up to dry. towards evening our officers gave the party the last of the ardent Spirits except a little reserved for Sickness. we all amused ourselves dancing untill 10 oClock in the evening, at which time we had a light Shower of rain. the party all in good Spirits keeping up the 4[th] of July &c as Independence.

July 5[th] Friday 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. 3 men Set out to go down to See the falls &c. about 9 oClock 12 of the party with Cap[t] Clark wen[t] in the plains after a gang of buffalow Seen on a hill Some distance off. the Situation of the plain where the gang of buffalow was [was] Such that we could not git near enofe without being discovered by them. in attempting it Scared them all off. then a part of the men went after another gang, the remainder returned to Camp. towards evening the hunters all came in had killed 3 buffalow 4 miles back in the plains. brought in Some meat and Skins. the 3 men returned from the falls. had killed Several buffalow and might have killed hundreds if they chuse where they were pened in under high clifts of rocks. they went among them So as might have reached them with the muzzel of their guns &c.

July 6th Saturday 1805.

verry hard Showers of rain and hail through the course of last night. hard Thunder. at day light a hard Shower of rain and large hail one of the men gethered a Small kittle full of the hail which kept the most part of the day. the morning cloudy. 4 men Set out in 2 canoes in order to go down to the head of the falls to kill buffalow for Skins to cover our crafts & meat &c. Some men employed finishing off the Iron boat others dressing Skins &c. the day proved clear. light Showers in the afternoon. the hunters did not return this evening.

July 7th Sunday 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. one man caught a beaver last night. 2 hunters Set out across the river this morning to attempt to kill 1 or 2 Elk for their Skins. we finished off the Iron boat and put hir up in an open place to dry. the day warm. I am employed makeing leather cloaths for the party &c. Some Thunder and a light Shower of rain. about 4 oClock the hunters returned had killed Several buffalow, one Elk and Several wolves &c. they brought in Some Skins to cover the crafts with &c. the 2 hunters returned from across the river had killed 4 Deer and one antelope &c.

July 8th Monday 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. one man went across the river a hunting. about 9 oClock A. M. Capt Clark and all the men that could be Spared from Camp Set out for to go down to the falls a hunting. I remained in Camp makeing leather cloathes &c. the rest of the men at Camp was employed in makeing coal & tallow and Beese wax mixed and payed over the leather on the Iron boat &c. in the afternoon the hunters returned from the falls and plains. had killed Several buffalow, 1 antelope and a yallow fox, also 2 rattle Snakes &c. Capt Clark measured the width of the river at the great Spring & middle falls &c. the hunter returned from over the river and had killed one buck Deer and a buck antelope or goat kind &c. Some Thunder and light Sprinkling of rain &c.

July 9th Tuesday 1805.

a beautiful morning. the Island near our Camp is covered with black birds. the musquetoes verry troublesome. we put the Iron boat in to the water corked Some of the canoes and git in readiness to depart from this place. in the afternoon we loaded the 6 canoes but did not load the Iron boat for She leaked Some. Soon after we got the canoes loaded there came up a Storm of wind & Thunder. the waves dashed over in the canoes So that we had to unload again. our officers conclude that the Iron boat will not answer our purpose as we cannot git Tar nor pitch to pay the [bottom of] hir over the hides. the coal Tallow & bease wax would not Stick to the hides &c. the time being So far Spent they concluded to burry hir at this place and go about 20 miles up the River and make 2 canoes which would answer much better. So we Sunk Sd Iron boat in the River So that Shee may be taken apart the better tomorrow. about 10 men got ready to go with Capt Clark to make the canoes, about 20 mls by water and only about 5 by land from this place.

July 10th Wednesday 1805.

a clear morning. we took the Iron boat out of the water, and loaded 4 canoes one with baggage & tools for the men at the upper Camp. we Set off eairly with the canoes for the upper Camp Capt Clark Set out at the Same time with abt 10 men to go up by land to make the 2 canoes. we proceeded on with the 4 canoes about 8 miles and the wind rose So high that we we[re] obledged to lay by untill toward evening. the wind then abated and we went on untill dark. then camped for the night on N. S. within about 3 miles of the upper Camp. we killed a large rattle Snake. we passed to day 2 or 3 Islands covered with cotton timber and choke cherrys. abundance of cherry yallow currents and box elder timber along the Shores. passed a village of bearking Squerrells & killed one of them on N. S. the musquetoes & nats are troublesome at our Camp this evening. high banks of Sand along the N. Shore.

July 11th 1805 *Thursday.*

a clear morning, but high wind which obledged us to lay at our Camp untill late in the afternoon except the baggage canoe which went on. 2 of the men went up to the Camp and got Some meat. towards evening the wind abated a little so that we went on arived at the upper Camp about Sunset and unloaded. the hunters had killed 2 fat buffalow and Several Deer. I walked a Short distance in the plains to day when we were waiting for the wind to abate, and trod on a verry large rattle Snake. it bit my leggin on my legg I Shot it. it was 4 feet 2 Inches long, & 5 Inches & a half round. we took Some fat meat on board and 4 of us Set out with the 8 empty canoes to return to the lower Camp. we floated apart of the night got about 8 miles the wind rose so that we halted untill morning. Capt Clark had got 2 fine trees cut for 2 canoes and got them ready to dig out &c. &c.

July 12th *Friday* 1805.

a clear morning. the wind high from the N. W. we proceeded on down the river. the wind So high that one canoe filled the other 2 took in water, but with difficulty we got to the lower Camp about noon. they while we were gone had killed 2 buffalow. had also put the Irons of the Iron boat in the ground and Some other articles, also. we Scaffelled up the buffalow meat to dry &c. Several men had Set out this morning for the upper Camp the wind continues verry high all day.

July 13th *Saturday* 1805.

clear and calm. we loaded all the canoes eairly and Set out with all our baggage for the upper Camp. Capt Lewis a Sick french man and the Intrepters wife went across by land. we proceeded on with the canoes abt 5 miles verry well then the wind rose So high that obledged us to lay too untill towards evening, when the wind abated and we went on about 7 mls further and Camped. the Musquitoes verry troublesome untill 9 oClock at night.

July 14th *Sunday* 1805.

we Set out eairly and proceeded on. the morning clear and calm. passed Several Islands &c. and arived at the upper Camp about noon. Capt Clark & men had got the 2 canoes ready to put in the water. we unloaded the canoes put one of the niew canoes in the River about 4 oClock P. M. we had a Small Shower of rain. verry warm the musquetoes troublesome. we put the other niew canoe in the river, and make ready to leave this place. we have considerable of fat buffalow meat dryed. the weeds and grass in this bottom is as high as a mans knees but the grass on the high land is not more than 3 Inches high.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE GREAT FALLS TO THE THREE FORKS

July 15–27, 1805

July 15th. Monday 1805.

RAINED the greater part of last night. a clear morning, wind high from the N. W. we loaded the 8 canoes. had Some difficulty to git all the baggage on board. about 10 oClock A. M. we Set out and proceeded on verry well. passed a large Creek or Small River on S. S. passed Several Islands covered with cotton timber willow & Grass fine bottoms on each Side. beaver pleanty. the current verry gentle Since we came above the falls, can Scarsely desern it move as yet. we or Capt Lewis & Clark & a hunter who walked on Shore to day killed 2 Elk and 2 Deer & one otter. we came about 26 miles by water to day, and Camped on the N. Side.

July 16th. Tuesday 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. Sergt Ordway went about 4 miles back for an axe which [he] forgot last evening. we proceeded on verry well the current begin to git Swifter. we passed a high round hill a Short distance from the river which at a distance look like a large fortifycation So we named it Fort Mountain, lying on N. S. of the river. we passed a large creek on S. Side 100 yds wide. passed Several Isld covered with Timber also bottoms on each Side covered with cotton Timber, &c. Saw fresh Indian Sign. large Camps back of Several bottoms. the hunters killed 2 buffalow. we Saw verry large gangs in the plains under the rockey mountan which we are now approaching. we Came 20 Miles and Camped at the Entrence of the rockey mountains.

July 17th. Wednesday 1805.

Cap.t Lewis & 2 men Stayed out all night who went up the river yest.y a clear morning. we Set out at Sunrise and proceeded on. about 4 miles came to a hard rapid, ½ a mile where the mountains make close to the river on each Side. Cap.t Lewis joined us. by the assistance of the towing line and double manning the canoes we took them all up Safe. passed a large Spring which run from under the Mountain on S. S. proceeded on passed verry high Steep rocks & pricipices. these rocky Mountains are broken & verry uneven & appear to be nearly a Solid rock. Some parts of them thinly covered with P.[itch] pine and balsom fer timber &c. Some of these knobs we allow to be 700 feet high and a Solid rock. Mountain Sheep on the top of them though they are allmost perpenticular. fine Springs in these mountains, but a desert part of the Country. narrow bottoms on the points. Some willow and high grass with a wide leaf. the current verry rapid, and river crooked, and only about 100 yards wide. we Came 11 miles this day and Camped on the N. Side in a bottom a little cotton timber on it. the musquetoes troublesome. we got pleanty of yallow currents this day.

July 18th. Thursday 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Saw Some Mountain Sheep on a verry high precipice which is nearly Steep from the river up 2 or 3 100 feet. we Set out about Sun rise and proceded on about 3 miles passed the mouth of a River about 100 y.ds wide at the mouth it came in on the N. Side and run Strong. one mile further up Cap.t Clark killed an Elk Saw a nomber more. we Saw a flock of Mountain Rams on the Side of the Mountain on S. Side with verry large horns. Cap.t Clark kill.d one. we went near them before they run from us. the mountains appear not So high ahead, but another range seen a long distance above which appear much higher than any we See in this range and Some we allow to be 700 feet high the pitch & yallow pine continues Scatering along these mountains &c. Cap.t Clark & his Servant york & 2 other men Set out to go up one or two days travel by land. we proceded on with the

canoes verry well. towards evening we passed a Small River on N. S. about 60 y^{ds}. wide named [blank space in MS.] River. the mountains continue but not So high as yesterday. we came 19½ miles and Camped in a narrow bottom on the S. Side. considerable of flax in this bottom half seded. we took on board Some deer meat & a Skin which Cap^{t}. Clark killed.

July 19th. *Friday* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out as usal, and proceeded on. Cap^{t}. Lewis and one hunter walked on Shore Shortly killed a large goat or antelope. we took on board the Skin and Some of the meat. the current verry Swift. the mountains verry high & covered with pine & bolsom fir trees many places verry thick. we went on untill about 11 oClock without breakfast expecting to overtake Cap^{t}. Lewis as usal. the cause we know knot with [out] Some thing has happened. one of the men killed an otter with his hooked pole. they are verry pleanty. some beaver also in these narrow bottoms. proceeded on. Shortly found Cap^{t}. Lewis. passed the mouth of a Small river on the S. Side. in the afternoon we passed a verry high part of the mountain & Steep up from the River on each Side about 600 feet from the Surface of the water, which we name the gates of the rockey mountains. Several fine Springs come out under these clifs of light couloured rocks. about one oClock their came Such a Thunder Shower which lasted 1 hour. Saw pine Spruce & ceeder bolsom fer also on the top & vallies of S^{d}. Mountains. the bottoms on the points verry narrow along the Shores. we Came 19 miles this day through verry rapid water and Camped on the South Side. a light Sprinkling of rain this evening.

Saturday 20th. *July* 1805.

a clear morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on. at 8 oClock we came to a lower part of the mountains. we found along the Shores a great quantity of currents of all kinds yallow red & black they are now ripe, and we eat pleanty of them the black kind are the most pallatiable. one of the men killed

one Elk, and found the Skin of another which Cap^{t} Clark had killed and left a note letting us know that he would only go over the range of these mountains and wait our arival. the current verry rapid. passed a Small creek on the South Side. about 2 oClock P. M. we got through this range of mountains. Saw an other range a head. Saw a smoak in the valley between Some level plains in the valley. Some timber Scatering along the River. proceeded on Saw a great nomber of otter along the Shores. passed a plain on the N. S. in the valley between 2 mountains. this valley is uneaven & hilley. we Came 15 miles to day and Camped at a Spring on the South Side of the River. the prickley pears verry thick &c.

Sunday 21st *July* 1805.

a clear morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on. Saw a nomber of large Swans on the River. Some of the hunters killed 2 of them. considerable of pine Spruce and bollsom fer trees along the Shore. we passed a Small Creek on the S. S. and one on the N. S. the grass in the valley & on the hills look dry & pearch^{d} up. the wind high from the N. W. in the afternoon we passed through a hill & clifts of rocks on each Side. the River divides in different channels & Spreads about a mile wide. the Islands verry pleanty. Saw beaver Sign on them. this valley is Smoth in places. Some timber along the Shores our hunters on Shore killed a deer. we Came 15½ miles through verry rapid water. the men [of the] party much fatigued. Camped on a Smooth plain on the South Side.

Monday 22nd *July* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. We Set out as usal and proceeded on passed verry large Islands covered with grass [and] a fiew trees. a great many currents. we took a narrow channel behind an Is^{d} which was about 5 miles through. we began to think that we had taken an other River, but proved to the contrary. Some ceeder on Some of these Islands. pass^{d} 2 large Isl^{ds} which [are] level and all prarie or plain. one of the men killed a Deer in a plain on N. S. about 2 oClock we

halted to dine on the N. S. then went on Cap^{t} Lewis forgot his Thurmometer which he had hung in a Shade. it Stood to day at 80 degrees above 0. I went back and got it then went on after the party. passed Several Islands covered with cotton & ceeder timber. the River divides in many Channels. I took a near cut and at night came out ahead of the party, and went down to the Camp. Cap^{t} Clark had joined them & his party. they were all well and had Seen a great deal of Indian Sign along the River and a fire which was burning. we expect the Snake Indians or a party of them are near this. perhaps they are alarmed at our firing at the game &c. we Came 17½ miles this day thro a verry rapid current and a pleasant country. a pleanty of ripe currents &c. along the Shores. our Intrepters wife knows the country along the River up to hir nation at the 3 forks. we are now 166 miles from the falls of the Missourie.

Tuesday 23rd *July* 1805.

Cap^{t} Clark and 3 men Set out in order to go on to the 3 forks, expecting to find the Snake nation, near that place. Some cloudy. the Musquetoes verry troublesome. I cannot keep them out of my face at this time. the current verry rapid. we proceeded on. the river Spreads wide, and full of Islands. we passed the mouth of a Small River which came in behind an Island on the South Side. passed livel Smoth large plains, on each Side. high grass in places & fine Short grass in general. considerable of good flax now going to Seed. the thissels also pleanty & high now in blossom. the timber continues on the Island[s] and along the Shores. the beaver pleanty. the pine timber continues on the Sides of the hills at Some distance from the River. our hunter who Stayed out last night came to us at noon where we delayed to dry the articles wh[ich] is wet in the canoes. he had killed Several Deer, and Saved the most of the meat. we hoisted up our flags and proceeded on the current verry rapid. Came 24 miles this day and Camped on the South Side. the party in general much fatigued. we find pleanty of wild Inions or garlick, in these bottoms & Islands &c. &c.

Wednesday 24th July 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on. the current verry rapid. we found a goat Skin which Capt Clarks party had killed and left on Shore. passed a yallow or redish clift of rocks on N. S. Saw considerable of ceeder on the Islands and along the Shores. in the afternoon we passed a large plain on the N. S. the prickley pear abound on it. Saw otter and beaver in great abundence. the willow verry thick on the Islands and along the Shores. the Currents still abound also the Rabit berrys, which the french call graze the buff [*graisse de bœuf*]. the rapid water continues all day. Some bad rapids which it was with difficulty we passed over them. Came 19½ mls this day and Camped on the large plain N.S. one deer killed this day. a white bear Seen. pleanty of Elk sign. we Saw a great many different kinds of Snakes along the R[iver].

Thursday 25th July 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on. Saw a large white bear on an Island. Saw a nomber of otter. Saw a flock of goats or antelopes one of the hunters killed one of them. we Saw a Camp where Capt Clark had Stayed one night. discovered mountains a head which appear to have Snow on them, if not Snow it must be verry white Clay or rocks. we eat abundance of red & yallow currents. the timber and Island[s] not So pleanty as yesterday. large plains on each Side of the River & looks pleasant and extensive. in the afternoon we entered in to Some rough rockey hills which we expect from the Indian account is the commencement of the Second chain of the rockey mountains, but they do not appear So high as the first nor So Solid a rock. at the entrence we found Several bad rockey rapids which we had to pass through and So Shallow the rocks Show themselves across the River and appear Shallow all the way across. we double manned and got up Safe. I cut my foot with the Stone a towing along the Shore. Saw excelent Springs which ran from under the clifts. we came 16 miles this day and Camped on the N. S. our hunter killed one goose, which was all that was killed this day.

Friday 26th. July 1805.

a clear morning. we Set out as usal, and proceeded on the current rapid. Saw Several Springs along the Shores. one of the men killed a beaver. the pine and ceeder timber pleanty along the Shores. passed clifts of rocks on each Side but the hills make off lower. we find that we have not entered the 2nd. chain of Mountains but can discover verry high white toped mountains Some distance up the River. the River verry wide and full of Islands. the current verry rapid in general. passed over Several verry bad rapids which was difficult to pass. our hunter on Shore killed 4 Deer. the wind blew hard at 2 oClock & a light Sprinkling of rain. we found an Indian bow. took on board a Deer Skin which Capt. Clark had left with a note, that they had Seen no Indians, but had Seen fresh horse tracks. considerable of cotton & ceeder timber on the Islands &c. Came 19 miles this day, and Camped on the South Side of the River. found Servis berrys &c.

Saturday 27th. July 1805.

a clear morning. we Set off at Sun rise and proceeded on. the current as rapid as yesterday. passed clifts of rocks where was villages of little birds under the Shelving rocks &c. the hills not So high as below. the currents of different kinds abound along the Shores. about 9 oClock we Came or arived at the 3 forks of the Missourie which is in a valley in open view of the high Mountains which has white Spots on it which has the appearence of Snow. Saw large flocks of mountain Sheep or Ibex, and goats or antelopes. the plain on N. Side of the forks has lately been burned over by the natives. we went on passed the South fork, and west fork. went a Short distance up the North fork and Camped on the point which is a Smoth plain. a large Camp of Indians has been encamped here Sometime ago. our Intrepters wife was taken prisoner at this place 3 or 4 years ago by the Gross vauntous Indians. their came up Showers of rain which lasted untill evening. Capt. Clark & men returned & Joined us. had found no Indians, but had Seen fresh Sign of horses. Saw one elegant horse in the plains which appeared wild. they had been about

40 miles up the middle or west fork then Struck across the plains to the North fork, and was near the mountains, and informs us that their is considerable of Snow on them. our hunters killed in these bottoms in the forks of the Rivers, 6 Deer 3 otter & a musk rat. Cap^{t} Clark & party had killed Several Deer goats or antelopes and a young bear. this is a verry pleasant handsome place, fine bottoms of timber &c. we expected to have found the Snake nation of Indians about this place, but as they are gone we expect they are gone over the mountains to the River called the Columbian River, to fish &c. but perhaps we may find Some this Side of the mountains yet. we Came only 7 miles to day. at this Camp we unloaded all the canoes & conclude to rest & refresh ourselves a day or too &c. Cap^{t} Clark taken Sick.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE THREE FORKS OF THE MISSOURI TO THE BEAVER'S HEAD

July 28–August 10, 1805

Sunday 28th July 1805.

A FOGGY morning but clear. Several men went out eairly a hunting. we put out all the baggage to air. Capt Clark verry unwell. we built a bowrey for his comfort. the party in general much fatigued. Several lame, with Sore feet &c. towards evening the hunters all returned. had killed 7 or 8 Deer Some of them fat bucks. one of them who had been a Short distance up the South fork & found it not as large as the middle or west & North forks, which are near of a Size. in the evening we had a fine Shower of rain. Some Thunder attended it, which cooled the air much. the men at Camp has employed themselves this day in dressing Skins, to make cloathing for themselves. I am employed makeing the chief part of the cloathing for the party. two Elk killed to day also.

Monday 29th July 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. Several hunters went out eairly to hunt. we conclude to lay at this Camp to day. Capt Clark Some better. the day verry warm the wind from the east. the Latitude of this place is 45°, 22m, 34s. 5/10 North. the width of the Rivers at the forks we alow the North fork to [be] about 60 yards wide, the west fork about the Same, the South fork about 40 yards wide. towards evening the hunters came in had killed 2 fat buck deer, and brought in a curious long leged redish couloured crain.

Tuesday 30th *July* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we loaded the canoes eairly and Set out about 9 oClock and proceeded on. Capt Lewis and Several men walked on Shore. we passed large bottoms of cotton timber. the River crooked rapid and full of Islands. the underbushes thick. the currents abound. the beaver pleanty. a nomber of beaver dams behind the Islands &c. we dined at the upper end of the bottoms close by a clear open prarie or plain. at this place our Intrepters wife was taken prisoner 4 years ago by a war party of the grossvauntous. they took hir as She was attempting to make hir ascape by crossing a Shole place on the River, but was taken in the middle of it. 2 or 3 Indians killed at the Same time on Shore. the rest of the Snakes made their ascape. the day warm, and verry pleasant. one of the hunters killed a deer. we proceeded on. the current verry Swift & rapids common. passed beautiful large plains on L. S. and high land on the S. Side. we came 13½ miles this day and Camped on the Stard Side. Capt Lewis did not join us this evening. these bottoms are low & many beaver dams which causes pond[s] &c.

Wednesday 31st *July* 1805.

Capt Lewis layed out alone all last night. a fine morning. we Set off at Sun rise and proceeded on as usal. the current rapid. passed the Mouth of a Creek on the Lard Side, which was damed up by the beaver in Sundry places. the bottoms low on each Side and covered with Small cotton timber & young willow &c. about 8 oClock A. M. we came to Capt Lewis where he Camped last night. we took breakfast and proceeded on passed a plain on the L. S. the hills begin to make near the River on each Side. passed a verry large Island which is Smo[o]th bottom prarie & but a little timber on it large open plain on L. Side on which grows abundance of flax wild Tanzey thissels &c. the above mentioned handsome Creek runs through this prarie on Smoth bottom without timber. only a little cotton timber on the River we dined about 1 oC. under a delightful Grove of cotton timber on L. Side

under the mountain which has large heaps of Snow on it. we now enter the hills on each Side and keeps along under the mountains. Cap^{t} Clark Saw a mountain Sheep with the Spy glass on a round hill towards the mountain. the Game is now gitting Scarser. we are now without fresh meat which is verry uncommon to us. the day verry warm. we proceeded on passed clifts of rocks and high wales along the Shores. Some pine Scatering along the hills. we Came 17¾ miles this day and Camped on a Small Island on the Lar^{d} Side. our hunter on Shore wounded a white bear.

Thursday 1st day of August 1805

a clear morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on. Some of the men killed a goose & a beaver. about 8 oClock A. M. we took breakfast under Some handsome ceeder trees on S. Side. Cap^{t} Lewis Serg^{t} Gass Sharbonoe & Drewyer Set out by land to go on up the River to make discoverys &c expecting to find Indians &c. we proceeded on. find currents as usal and choak cherrys along the River. the current Swift the hills higher and more pine and ceeder timber on them. we passed high clifts about 500 feet high in many places. considerable of pine on the Sides of the hills all the hills rough and uneven. at noon Cap^{t} Clark killed a mountain Sheep, on the Side of a Steep redish hills or clifts the remainder of the flock ran up the Steep clifts. the one killed roled down Some distance So we got it and dined eairnestly on it. it being Cap^{t} Clarks buthday he ordered Some flour gave out to the party. we Saw Some timber along the Shores resembling ceeder which Some call Juniper, which had a delightfull Shade. I left my Tommahawk on the Small Island where we lay last night which makes me verry Sorry that I forgot it as I had used it common to Smoak in.[1] proceeded on passed verry high ragid clifts, and a bad rapid at the upper end of a Small Island the toe rope broke of the Cap^{ts} perogue, and it was in danger of upsetting. passed a Spring run or creek on L. Side. came in to a valley. passed bottoms of timber and the mouth of a

[1] Referring to a variety of tomahawk made with a hollow handle, which served also as a pipe.— ED.

large creek on S. Side, and a Spring also. we came 13½ miles and Ca[m]ped in a fine bottom covered with cotton timber and thick bushes &c. Saw a white bear. the hunters killed 5 deer we took on board 2 Elk which Cap[t] Lewis had killed and left on Shore for us. Saw Snow on the Mountains a Short distance to the South of us.

Friday 2[nd] August 1805.

a fine pleasant morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on the River is now Small crooked Shallow and rapid. passed bottoms of cotton timber &c. Saw abundance of beaver Sign, trees a foot over which had newly been cut down. Saw a pond which was made by the beaver damming up the water as in ma[n]y places. passed a high bank in which was a village of what is called bank Swallows. high hills a little back from the River on each Side of the River. considerable of pine on them, & covered with Short grass. I have a pain in my Shoulder. we proceeded on passed large beautiful bottom prarie on each Side, & bottoms of timber. Saw a nomber of old Indian Camps. the beaver houses are verry pleanty & ponds where they resort. the day warm. we proceeded on passed a nomber of Islands and bottoms. the River Shallow and rapid. passed Smoth praries &c. Saw 2 grey Eagles which had nests on the top of dry trees. Came 14¾ miles this day & Camped on a Smoth plain on L. Side. Saw a gang of Elk back under the hills. the country back from the River is broken & Mountainous.

Saturday 3[rd] August 1805.

a clear morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on. Cap[t] Clark walked on Shore a Short time and killed a Deer. the River verry crooked and filled with Islands. proceeded on. Saw 2 deer little ahead, one of the hunters went after them and killed a panther on an Island. it differs Some from those in the States it was 7½ feet long, & of a redish coulour the turshes [tusks] long the tallants [talons] large but not verry long. passed verry rapid water So that we had to double man the canoes and drag them over the Sholes & rapids. passed a large

prarie on S. Side. high grass & bushes along the River. the bottoms has been burned over by the natives I expect last fall. passed a verry large Spring on L. S. which makes from under the mountains. the beaver has damed up the mouth & built lodges all through the pond it forms. it falls over the beaver dam in to the River verry Steep, about 4 feet. passed over a bad rapid and halted about one to dine at a bottom of timber on the S. Side. the day pleasant & warm. proceeded on passed Several Springs one large one on L. S. plains and bottoms, Some of which is covred with cotton & birch timber the River Still getting more rapid and the rapids longer than below. Came 11½ miles this day and Camped on L. Side Co[t] wood.

Sunday 4[th] August 1805.

a clear morning. we Set out at Sunrise. a hunter Sent on a head to kill Some fresh meat for us to eat. proceeded on. ab[t] 8 oC[l] A. M. we Came to Cap[t] Lewis camp of the 2 ult. [inst.] he left a note letting us know he left this place yesterday morning and ment to go on untill this evening, & if they found no fresh Sign of Indian, they would return back a fiew miles & hunt untill we came up. we Saw Several Elk in a plain on L. Side. proceeded on our hunters killed 2 deer. the rapids bad as usal. we are obledged to use the towing lines where ever the Shore will admit. Some of the Mountains near the River on L. S. has been burned by the natives Some time ago. The timber killed. not So much timber on the River as below. proceeded on killed a goose and a duck. they are pleanty on the River. we Came 15 miles this day and Camped at a bottoms covered with dry timber and wild rose bush which is verry thick on S. Side. the beaver ponds and Sign pleanty &c.

Monday 5[th] August 1805.

a clear cool morning. we Set out at Sunrise 2 hunters Sent on a head to kill Some meat. one of them joined us with a deer he had killed before breakfast time. the wind cold from the South. the Shores and hills rockey, & bottom of the River cov[d] with Small Stones. our other hunter joined us

at noon, had killed nothing. the rapids gits worse that ever. it is with difficulty we git over them, & verry fatigueing. at 1 oC. P. M. clouded up. wind high. proceeded on about a mile further up came to a fork we took the right hand fork which was amazeing rapid. Some of the rapids falls 3 or 4 feet or their abouts in the length of our canoes. we passed through a channel where the water was rapid and ran through the willows & young cotton wood the beaver had fell[ed] Some of them across the channel and [as] it [was] crooked it was with much difficulty we got thro. obledged to forse our way through the bushes and hall by them. Some places out in the water could Scarsely keep our feet for the rapidity of the current. Saw Several beaver dams verry high. night came on. Camped on S. Side at a low bottom, which has lately been overflowed. we expect this little Stream is high from the Snow melting on the mountains. it appears it has lately been higher, but is now falling a little. was it low their would not be water enofe in it for us to proceed any further by water. our hunter killed a deer. Came 8 miles this day. the party much fatigued and wish to leave the canoes & go by land.

Tuesday 6th August 1805.

a clear morning. we Set out as usal, and proceeded on halling the canoes up the rapids. the bottoms low and covered with Small timber. about 8 oClock A. M. we halted for breakfast at a grove of timber. Saw an Indian trale or path. G. Drewyer Came to us and informed us that we had got the wrong fork & that their was 3 forks & Cap^{t} Lewis allowed that the middle fork would be the right course & the best fork for us to go up. Cap^{t} Lewis gone down to the forks. we turned about and went down to the forks with the crafts. in going through a difficult place which we went up thro last evening, one canoe got up Set and everry perticle of the loading got wet. one of the men who was in the bow lost his knapsack and the most of his cloaths &c. I was in the Stern when She Swang & jumped out to prevent hir from turning over but the current took hir round So rapid that caught my

leg under hir and lamed me & was near breaking my leg. lost my Shot pouch powder horn full of powder a bunch of thred and Some mockisons &c. the remainder of the loading Saved. we found it difficult to go down over the Sholes. Several canoes ran fast &c. one of the large canoes took in water & was near filling. we got down to the forks found Cap^{t} Lewis & party their. they informed us that they had been about 30 miles up & their was 3 forks and the middle fork was the best for us, to go. we halted here at the forks on L. S. and put out all the articles which got wet to dry. one of the men who went out to hunt this morning has not returned. Several men went out from this place to hunt. we had a Small Shower of rain. the hunters all returned in the evening had killed 3 Deer and one faun Elk. we blew the horn & fired Several guns, expecting the man who went out this morning George Shannon was lost. the Indian goods &c. did not all git dry this evening &c.

Wednesday 7th August 1805.

a clear cool morning. one man out to hunt. we unloaded one of the Small canoes and halled it out in a grove of cotton trees and leave hir here. we put [out] the Indian goods &c. to git throully dry. Cap^{t} Lewis took an observation & Shot the air gun. the lost man not returned. the day warm, the large horse flyes troublesome &c. about one oClock we packed up all the baggage and Set off & proceeded on up the middle fork. we find the current not So rapid as the right fork. the rapids not so bad. we had Thunder Showers & high wind this afternoon. passed Smooth plains on each Side &c. Camped after coming 7 miles on a bottom of wood & bushes L. Side. our hunter G. Drewyer joined us had killed a deer.

Thursday 8th August 1805.

a clear cold morning. 4 hunters Sent out eairly to hunt. we Set out at Sunrise, and proceeded on passed beautiful Smooth prarie on each Side, but little timber only willows and bushes currents &c. passed the left hand fork which empties in at 2 places, but is not as large as the middle fork. Saw a

little Snow on the knobs & mountains at a Short distance back from the [River.] this large & extensive valley which looks verry pleasant. the Soil of these praries is much better than below, for a long distance. we proceeded on passed a fine Spring on L. S. one of the hunters brought us a deer which he killed. Saw a nomber of geese & ducks on the River. passed delightful prarie on each Side covred with high grass thissels Small Sun flowers and a nomber of other kinds of flowers &c. at noon R. Fields joined us had been hunting for Shannon but had not found him. he had killed a deer & a goat &c. one of the other hunters joined us had killed a deer & a goat also the day warm & pleasant, in this valley, which is 10 or 12 miles wide & all prarie. proceeded on halled the canoes over Several Shole places. this little River which we call Jeffersons River is only about 25 yards wide but jenerally eight or 10 feet deep, and verry crooked. we passed upwards of 60 points this day in comming [blank space in MS.] miles and Camped in a thicket of bushes on the Lar^{d}. Side. one more deer kill[ed].

Friday 9th August 1805.

a clear cool morning. Several hunters out on Shore we Set out as usal and proceeded on the wind high from the S. E. took on board a goat which one of the hunters had killed. we halted ab^{t} 8 oC. for breakfast. George Shannon joined us who had been lost 3 days. he had killed 3 buck Deer, which was fat. he brought in the Skins & a little meat. Cap^{t} Lewis G. Drewyer H. M^{c} Neal & John Shields Set out to go on by land a long distance to look out the way for us to go & expect to find the Snake nation of Indians. we proceeded on. took on bord a deer which one of the hunters killed. we Saw no game worth notice except a fiew Deer. the River and Smooth prarie the Same as yesterday. back at the forks our Captains named this Stream Jeffersons River, the N. fork Sensable River, and the South fork [1] not known yet. So I expect that ought to be called the head of the

[1] This sentence was crossed through thus far, in the original MS., with a stroke of the pen. It has been allowed to stand, to make intelligible what follows. — ED.

Missourie although we are yet on the head branch, which we expect to See the head of it Soon. Some Thunder. the Musquetoes troublesome. the beaver pleanty as usal &c. Saw Snow on the Mountains Some distance a head. proceeded on passed the old bed of the River where it formerly ran along the high land at South Side of the prarie Some cotton trees along it. the prarie low, Some part of which is soft & boggy which we expect is good turf to burn [if it] was dug & dryed. Thunder Showers passed round or over. Came 18 miles and Camped on L. S. near a grove of cotton trees & willows.

Saturday 10th *August* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out as usal. Several hunters out on Shore. we now begin to live on fresh meat & that poor venson & goat meat at this time. as our fatigues [are] hard we find that poor meat alone is not Strong diet, but we are content with what we can git. the high land make near the River on each Side. passed a high clifts of rocks on S. Side. proceeded on the valley gits wider and the hills make further from the River our officers thought proper that the Missourie Should loose its name at the 2nd forks we passed Some time ago where we expected to have found the Snake nation of Indians. So they named the North fork *Jeffersons* River, the west or middle fork *Maddison* River, the South fork *Gallitine* River, on which is a most beautiful Spring abt 2 mls from its mouth. the Small River that puts in above the forks to Jeffersons River they call phillosify River. So Jeffersons River is the one which we Still keep on. the last 3 forks they call the North fork, Wisdom R. the South Philandrophey and the west or middle fork Still retains its name Jeffersons River it is now gitting Small crooked & Shole in places So that we have to waid and hall the canoes over. about one oClock we halted to dine. had a hard Thunder Shower of large hail and rain thin proceeded on the bottom and river as usal. the hunters killed only one deer this day. Came 13 miles this day and Camped on the Stard Side.

CHAPTER XII

FROM THE BEAVER'S HEAD TO THE GREAT DIVIDE

August 11–16, 1805

Sunday 11th August 1805.

A COOL cloudy morning Some rain we Set out after breakfast and proceeded on 3 men out a hunting. about 3 miles came to a verry large prarie Island which is 3000 miles from wood River or the mouth of the Missourie. So we call it 3000 mile Island. we took up the L. Side of it & had to hall over Several Shole places. Saw a nomber of geese & ducks. one of the hunters joined us at noon. had killed 3 three Deer & 2 otter, Some distance a head. the day warm. the large flys troublesome. we proceeded on passed Several Sunken ponds and low bottoms which is Soft and boggy the beaver has cut many channels to their houses along the Shores they are verry numerous in this valley. I think they are more pleanty than ever we Saw them before. towards evening we Came to a fiew Scattering cotton trees along the Shore. the valley continues to be 8 or 10 miles wide and all low Smooth prarie with timber. we See Mountains a head Some distance which appear high. large Spots of Snow on them. we Came 14 miles this day and Camped on a wet bottom on the Star[d] Side. the Mosquitoes troublesome, &c.

Monday 12th August 1805.

a clear morning 3 hunters out on Shore a hunting. we proceeded on the current verry rapid. passed low Swampy bottoms. about 2 oClock P. M. a hard Thunder Shower arose rained a Short time. we then proceeded on the current more rapid one of the large canoes was near turning over. towards evening the hunters all came in had killed 3 deer and

seen Deer & a goat or antelope. Some timber along the Shore. We came [blank space in MS.] miles and Camped at a Smooth prarie & grove of timber.

Tuesday 13th August 1805.

cloudy. we Set out as usal & proceeded on. Several hunters out a hunting. passed a handsom Spring run on the L. Side. the hills make a little nearer the River. the valley not So wide & a little higher dry and Smoth. Sun flowers & grass Some places high & other places Short. Some pine timber back on the high hills. we halted & took breakfast near a high clift of rocks on L. Side above which the hills make near the River. proceeded on. the current rapid the plain continues on L. Side and hills on S. Side. Some Scattering cotton trees along the River. we have caught a nomber of Trout in this Stream. in the afternoon we passed fine Springs & clifts of rocks on S. Side. the current not So rapid in the afternoon Saw a nomber of large otter along the River. Saw bald eagels ducks &c. took on board a Deer which the hunters killed. Came 15 miles this day and Camped on the Smooth prarie on L. S. Capt Clark Shot a duck. considerable of flax in these praries. Some of the men Save Some of the Seed. 2 hunters did not join us this evening.

Wednesday 14th August 1805.

a clear cold morning. we did not Set out untill we took an eairly breakfast. the 2 hunters Stayed out last night. the water in the River is clear and Cold we are now drawing near the Mountains. the upper part of the valley pleasant. passed a Spring run or creek on S. Side a handsome valley Some distance up it. Some Small timber on its Shores. about 10 oClock A. M. we came up to the hunters Camp. they had killed 4 Deer & one antelope. we proceeded on the current more rapid. obledged to hale the large canoes over Sholes & rapids. the Shores & banks of the River Stoney. halted to dine about one oClock at a dry part of the plain & fine groves of cotten trees &c. proceeded on took on board a deer and a goat which the hunters had hung on a limb of a tree. the

current continues verry rapid all day. Cap^{t} Clark killed a buck and one of the men killed a faun Deer. we Came miles[1] and Camped on the L. Side at the foot of the Mountains, on the Smooth plain at the upper end of the valley.

Thursday 15th *August* 1805.

a cold clear morning. we Set out as usal and proceeded on entered the Mountains verry high clifts of rocks near the River & Steep on each Side. passed Several Springs on L. Side which run from under the Mountains. passed Several bad rapids caught a nomber of fine Trout below the rapids. the bottoms narrow timber Scarse, the River more Shallow passed clifts of rocks & high rough mountains on each Side. passed the Mouth of a creek on the Star^{d} Side, the warter of a ridish coulour, considerable rapid and deep. ab^{t} 7 paces wide. 2 hunters on a head. we passed where Cap^{t} Lewis had left 3 or 4 Deer Skins the 10 ul^{t} & proceeded on. the River Shallow were obledged to hale the large canoes the most part of the time passed Several cree[ks] clifts of rocks Steep up from the River about 2 or 3 100 feet in many places. Some of the knobs are covred with grass & a fine Scattering pitch pines on them. the River crooked & difficult Some places Shole & Some deep holes in which we caught a nomber of Trout. Cap^{t} Clark was near being bit by a rattle snake which was between his legs as he was Standing on Shore a fishing. he killed [it] & Shot Several others this afternoon. Came [blank space in MS.] miles and Camped on L. Side at a narrow plain on which was Some old Indian Camps.

Friday 16th *August* 1805.

a clear but verry cold morning. the Thurmometer Stood at 47°. the water So cold that we delayed untill after breakfast. one hunter out on a head. we proceeded on as usal the current Swift passed a handsom Spring run on L. Side on which is a fiew cotton trees. Cap^{t} Clark our Intrepter & wife walked on Shore and found a great nomber of fine berrys

[1] Number omitted. — Ed.

which is called Servis berrys our Int.ᵉ wife gethered a pale full & gave them to the party at noon where we halted at a grove of cotton trees on L. S. our hunter who went out this morning killed a verry large buck. two of our hunters Stayed out last night, and have not returned yet. we name this place Servis valley, from the abundance of these berrys along under the hills &c. the 2 hunters joined us here & Informed us that the River forks in about 5 miles a Strait course by land & they think we can go no further than the forks with the crafts. 2 hunters Sent on to the forks to kill meat. we proceeded on over verry Shallow & Swift water passed up a verry bad rockey rapid where we had to waid up to our middle & hale the canoes over the rapids. Saw Several fine Springs & a run above the bad rapid passed high clifts of rocks and high hills on each Side. found pleanty of currents the water not So bad above the rapid. Came [blank space in MS.] miles this day and Camped on a narrow bottom on L. Side. No timber we could Scarsely find any but Small willow to boil our venison.

CHAPTER XIII

CROSSING THE GREAT DIVIDE, AND SEARCHING FOR NAVIGABLE WATERS

August 17–26, 1805

Saturday 17th: August 1805.

A CLEAR cold morning. we lay last night with 2 blankets or Robes over us & lay cold. Some frost this morning. we took an eairly breakfast and Set out. proceeded on a Short distance. heared a nomber of Indians a Singing on L. Side. directly their came Several of the Snake nation. Came to us & told us that Cap^{t} Lewis & party was at the forks. Cap^{t} Clark our Intrepter & wife went with the natives rode their horses to the forks. they kept rideing back & forward to See us comeing up with the canoes. we were obledged to hale the canoes a great part of the way untill we got to Cap^{t} Lewises Camp a little below the forks their was 20 odd of the Snake nation Camped with Cap^{t} Lewis. they appeared harmeless & friendly. Cap^{t} Lewis informed us that he had been over the mountain on the head waters of Columbian River and that this band was Camped on S^{d} waters and Creek or Small River on their way across to this place a hunting. the first they Saw was one Spy they had Some distance a head on horse back. Cap^{t} Lewis Swung & held up a blanket as a token of friendship, but as it hapened 2 of the men were a hunting one on each Side of him, which frightned him as he Suposed they wished to take [him] prisoner [he] turned about his horse & rode verry S[p]eedy out of his road & made no halt untill he got to the band, & told his people the news. they met 3 Squaws on the Side of the mountain a digging roots 2 of them ran off, the other being old Stood hir ground. Cap^{t} Lewis came or went up to hir & gave hir Some Small presents, and Shewed everry mark of

freiendship. She then called up the other 2 and they piloted Cap^{t} Lewis & party to the band, which received them with a great deal of fear at first. app[e]ared frightened until they lay down their guns and made Some tokens & motions of friendship. the natives then put their arms around their or our peoples necks & appeared glad to See them and used them friendly. they had Some Salmon which they had brought with them from the main river. it is only about 40 miles over the moun^{t} to the head waters of the other R. the[y] drank at the head waters or Spring of the Missourie and went only ab^{t} a mile and drank out of the head Spring of the Columbian River which ran west. the natives tell us that their is no timber large enofe for canoes on the head waters &c. Cap^{t} Lewis got 20 [o]dd of the band to come over with their horses, only 3 women with them. we conclude to leave the canoes at this place and git horses of the natives to take our baggage over the mountains. So we unloaded the canoes and formed a Camp on a Smooth prarie on L. Side. the grass high, but no timber we could git no timber to burn but small dry willow Sticks about as big as a mans finger &c. a high hill in the point or between the forks of the River. high hills around this valley. the hunters killed 3 deer & 2 goats this day. Cap^{t} Lewis informes us that the game is verry Scarse on the mountain, & that they were without any thing of account to eat for 2 or three days, but the natives tell us that their is pleanty of fish on the columbian River Such as Salmon &c. our officers told the natives that we wanted to git their horses to take our baggage over the Mountain & wanted to buy Some from them also So they Gave them considerable of marchandize divided it among them all. they consented to let us have their horses & assist us over the m^{t} they tell us that it is only about 8 days travvel a South course to the Spanish country, but these Indians git but little trade amongst them &c.

Sunday 18th *August* 1805.

One beaver caught in a trap l[ast] n[ight]. a clear morning. Cap^{t} Clark and 11 men got in readiness to Set out with the

natives to go over the mountain to the other River to make canoes &c. Capt Lewis bought 4 horses of the natives Gave them, Some he gave a uniform coat a knife & a hankerchief, others he gave red leggins a knife a hankerf and a fiew arrow points &c. 2 of the men joined and bought a horse to take their baggage on & gave only one brich [breech] cloath one old or poo[r] Shirt & one knife, for a good pack horse. these Indian are verry poor and vallue a little worth a great deal, as they never had Scarsely any kind of a kinife or Tommahawk or any weapons of war or to use. 2 or 3 guns only to be seen among them which we expect they got from Some other nation, who traded with the french or Spanish traders. Gave their horses &c. for them. they are tollarably well dressed with Skins Such as antelope and Mountain rams Skins &c. they have a fiew beeds and ear bobs among them. they gave Capt Lewis a kind of an ornament which Spread around the Shoulders it was made of wezels tales & Some other ornemental afares. they have little things made of mussell shell which they hang in their ears with their beeds &c. about 10 oClock A. M. Capt Clark 11 men and all the natives but 4[–]2 women & 2 men which Stayed at our Camp, Set out with their horses & considerable baggage to cross the mountain and Send back the horses for us to pack over all the baggage, which we wish to take over. we put out the Indian goods &c to air & Sort we had Some Showers of rain this afternoon the one hunter killed one Deer to day.

Monday 19th August 1805.

a cold morning. we Set our net across this little Stream in hopes to catch Some fish. Several traps Set for beaver. caught no fish in the net. Caught one beaver in a trap. a white frost this morning a clear pleasant day, all hands employed in dressing Skins & Sorting the Indian goods & packing up the baggage. Some at makeing pack Saddles &c. three men out with a horse to hunt. Some of the men caught a nomber of fine fish, large Trout black Spots all over them. the hunters returned in the afternoon had killed 2 Deer.

light Showers of rain. we packed up the most of the baggage &c. halled the fish net across the river but caught none any other way but with a hook & line. Cap[t] Lewis takes observations here this being the upper fork of Jeffersons River & the extream navigable part of the Missourie close under the dividing ridge of the western Country.

Tuesday 20[th] *August* 1805.

a clear cold morning. a white frost. two men out hunting. the men at Camp employed dressing Skins &c. the 2 Indians who Stay at Camp behave well their women mend & make our moccasons. these Indians behave as well and are as friendly as any Savages we have yet Seen. our hunters returned had killed nothing. one beaver caught which ran off with a Steel trap last night. we found [it] 2 miles down the river. a nomber of fish caught to day. Cap[t] Lewis looked out a place down the river a Short distance for a carsh [cache] or hole to put Some baggage in which we can do without untill our return.

Wednesday 21[st] *August* 1805.

a hard white frost the water which Stood in the Small vessells froze a little. Some deer Skins which was Spread out wet last night are froze Stiff this morning. the Ink freezes in the pen at Sunrise. a clear pleasant morning. one hunter out with a horse a hunting. 4 men Sent to dig a carsh or hole. at 8 oClock A. M. Some of the party found Ice in Some Standing water ¼ of an Inch thick. Captain Lewis took observations at this place and the Latitude produced is 43[D], 44[M], 19[S] North. in the evening after dark we carried our baggage we concluded to carsh to the place of cashing, So as that the Indians need not discover us, or mistrust that we are going to berry any thing at this place &c &c.

Thursday 22[nd] *August* 1805.

a white frost & cold as usal in the morning. our hunter returned late last night. had killed a faun deer, and informed

us that he fell among a party of Indians which were troublesome as they took his gun & rode off he rode after them and got his gun from out of an Indians hand. their was Several Squaws which had considerable of their kinds of food and Skins. they went and left it all he took it and brought it in with him. a clear pleasant morning three men wen[t] to finish hideing the baggage. the men at Camp employed dressing their Deer Skins & makeing their mockasons &c. I am employed makeing up their leather Shirts & overalls. about 11 oClock A. M. one tribe of the Snake nation 50 odd in nomber arived here on horse back some women & children. they have now come over the dividing ridge to trade their horses &c. with us. Capt Lewis counciled with them made 2 of them chiefs, and told them that we had come to open the way and try to make peace among the red people, and that they would be Supplyed with goods and necessaries, if they would catch beaver and otter and Save their Skins which the white people were fond of, and would trade with them as Soon as times would admit &c. Capt Lewis traded with them & bought 3 horses & 2 mules or half mules, for a little marchandize &c. we being out of fresh meat & have but little Salt meat we joined and made a fish dragg out of willows tyed bunches of them together and made it long enofe to reach across the River, and Caught with it 520 different kinds of fine pan fish. we divided them with the natives. Gave them a mess of boiled corn which they were fond of. they appear to be verry kind and friendly. we trade with them for dressed mountn rams Skins and otter Skins &c. our Interpeter & wife came over with them & were all Scarse off for provissions. killed nothing but one or 2 mountain Sheep & rabits &c. they all Camp with us and are peacable, do not attempt to Steel any thing. borrow nothing but what they return. they appear to live in fear of other nations who are at war with them, but Capt Lewis tells them that these other nations promise to let them alone and if they do not, their Great father will Send them arms and amunition to defend themselves with, but rather that they would live in peace &c.

Friday 23rd *August* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. 2 men Sent out a hunting. Capt Lewis Commences trading with the natives for more horses, but they do not incline to part with any more horses untill they git over the mountains, but will carry all our baggage over for us. Several of the natives went out with horses to hunt. they rode after the Deer & chased Some in site of our Camp and ran them down So that they killed 4 or 5 of them. this day, we halled all the canoes out in a Small pond on the North Side of the River and Sunk them in the water, So as they may be Safe for us at our return. about 4 oClock P. M. their came another party of the Snake Indians on horseback, about 40 in nomber. they appear the Same as the others did. we expect to Set out tomorrow to cross the mountain 2 hunters Sent on a head to kill Some meat if possable for us by the time we come up with them. our hunter returned in the evening had killed 2 large Deer and three Small Deer and brought them all to Camp on the horse.

Saturday 24th *August* 1805.

a clear cool morning. we find that the band of the Snake nation who came here yesterday is going down on the Missourie after the buffaloe, and offers Some of their horses for Sale. So we detain this morning in order to purchase Some of them. we got 3 or 4 more horses and hired 2 and loaded all our horses which was abt 12 in nomber then the Squaws took the remainder of our baggage and we then Set out about 12 oC. on our way to cross the divideing ridge. proceeded on abt 3 miles one of the men was taken Sick with the collick, and detained us So that we came only about 6 miles and Camped on the creek. one of the hunters came to us had killed nothing we gave the Indians Some corn, as they had nothing to eat.

Sunday 25th *August* 1805.

a clear morning a little frost last night. we loaded up our horses and loaded the Indian horses and proceeded on through the level plain. our hunters killed 3 Deer. passed a nomber

of fine Springs and Spring runs. Some willow on the creeks & runs but no timber of any acc[t] except pitch pine on the hills & tops of the mountains. our hunters killed another Deer. we Came about 15 miles this Day and Camped near the creek or run.

Monday 26[th] *August* 1805.

a clear morning. we find it verry cold and frosty every morning. the water froze a little in the Small vessells. we Set out at Sunrise and proceeded on. the mountains make along close to the branch on each Side which are partly cov[d] with pi[t]ch pine. passed a nomber of fine large Springs and drank at the head Spring of the Missourie and crossed a high ridge only one mile and drank at the head Spring of Columbian River running west. the runs all make the Same course Saw a high mountain to the S. W. with Some Spots of Snow on them. Saw Spots of pitch pine and bolsom fer on the Sides of the M[o] and on the Spring runs, and verry tall. we halted to dine at a Spring within about 8 miles of the Indians Camp which is on the Small River. one of our Indian women was taken Sick a little back of this and halted a fiew minutes on the road and had hir child and went on without Detaining us. we then proceeded on after we dined and gave the Indians who were with us a little corn. passed over Several hills. when we came near the natives lodges we fired 2 rounds by the requ[e]st of the chief then went to their lodges. they had a large one in the center prepared for us, wher we unloaded and Camped with them. their is about 30 lodges here consisting of men women and children, but the nomber of persons would be difficult to find out. we danced a little this evening. the natives assembled to see us. they all appeared verry friendly and peaceable.

CHAPTER XIV

DOWN THE LOLO TRAIL

August 27–October 10, 1805

Tuesday 27th. August 1805.

A BEAUTIFUL pleasant morning. we hoisted our large flag. Capt. Lewis Gave the head chief a flag also the 2[nd] chief one they hoisted them on the levil near their lodges. Capt. Lewis then began to trade with the natives for horses, after paying off the women who helped us over the divideing mount. Mr. Sharbono bought one horse for a red cloak. the natives brought up Several horses for trade. 2 hunters went out this morning to hunt with horses. the natives caught a nomber of fine Trout which would weigh abt. 8 pound Some call them Salmon Trout. others call them real Salmon, but they are not So red as the large Salmon. the Indian women are mostly employed gethering a kind of Small black Seed not So large as buck wheat, which they dry and pound or rub between 2 Stone[s] and make a Sort of meal of it they also dry cherries and Servis berryes & roots &c &c. for food. they kill but fiew Deer or any wild game except when they go down on the missourie after the buffalow. the country in general is barron broken and mountainious. an Indian came in with a horse load of Deer meat, which our hunters killd. our hunters all returned towards evening had killed 4 Deer & 8 or 10 fine Salmon which they had killed with a wooden gig. Capt. Lewis has bought 7 or 8 horses this day for a little of different kinds of Marchandize &c, but they Seem loth to part with any more without asking more for them. Some of them play away whatever they git for their horses, at a game nearly like playing butten only they keep Singing all the while and do all by motions. more or less play at this game & loose or

win more or less they care not always appear Still peaceable and contented, poor as they be. in the evening they had a war dance. their women Sang with them they danced verry well, but no So regular as those on the Missourie they tell us that Some of their horses will dance but I have not Seen them yet.

Wednesday 28th August 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we hoisted the large flag. Several men went a hunting and Several a fishing with Iron gigs fixed on poles. about 9 oClock A. M. Capt Lewis began to trade for horses again and offered nearly double as much as yesterday. Some Spots of Snow continues to lay on the mountain a fiew miles to the South of us. Sergt Gass joined us about 2 oC. and informed us that Capt Clark & the rest of the men were about 12 miles down the River waiting for us, but Capt Lewis Sent down for him to come up as we had So many horses to pack down. Capt Lewis has bought 5 or 6 more to day we have now 25 in all. our hunters killed nothing this day. in the evening 2 Indians arived at this village on horseback from another band which were Some distance to the South near the Spanish country. the principal men of the village all assembled to council with them these Savages all like Salt & eat it on meat &c.

Thursday 29th August 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. about 8 oClock A. M. a nomber of Indians arived here from the East Side of the Mountain. they belonged to this nation but had been gone a long time and one of the warrie[r]s had been Sculped by Some war party in the plain. a nomber of their relation cryed aloud when they arived in the village. Capt Lewis bought 2 more horses. about 11 oClock A. M. Capt Clark & party except 2 who Stayed to take care of the baggage arived here. they informed us the Mountains are amazeing high and rough So that it is impossable to follow the River down for the Steep clifts &c. and the River So rapid and full of rocks that it is impossable to go down with crafts, and no game of any kind. they killed nothing but one Deer, while they were gone. they lived

Several days on Servis berrys and cherries &c. they passed a lodge of Indians in a Small valley in the mountⁿ gethering cherries & Servisses. they Started to run but our men having a guide of their nation with them, he Spoke to them and they were easy. these Savages had nothing to give our men but Some of their berries. they got Some Salmon from the natives who Stayed on the River, but Suffered a great deal with hunger. the Natives tells us that we cannot find the ocean by going a west course for Some of them who are old men has been on that a Season or more to find the ocean but could not find it, and that their was troublesome tribes of Indians to pass. that they had no horses but would rob and Steal all they could and eat them as they had nothing as it were to eat. the country verry mountaineous and no game. these natives do not incline to Sell any more horses without guns in return as they say they must have one or the other for defence, as they could jump on their horses & ride off and carry their children &c. we told them they [*sc.* we] could not Spare any guns if we Should git no more horses So we put up the goods & make ready to Set out tomorrow on our way round the or between the mountains and Strike Columbian River below if possable. our hunters came in had caught 6 fish and killed one Deer.

Friday 30th *August* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we got all our horses up and bought 3 more which makes 30 in all which we now have. we got our loads ready. the guide which we engaged to go with us tells us that we could go a road which would be Smooth & leads to the Southward but we would be 2 days without water and no game on that road. but he could Show us a hilley rough roud [rout] over the mountains to the north of the River which would take us in 15 days to Salt water, or in 10 days to a large fork of the River, where it would be navagable. So we concluded to go that roud a part of these natives Set out with their horses to go over on the Missourie after the buffalow. about one oClock P. M. we got ready and Set out with all our horses except 2 loaded with baggage. our hunter

killed three Deer this for[e]noon. we proceeded on down this little River bottom crossed Several Spring runs passed Several old camps or lodges. Came about 10 miles and Camped on the bottom near the River.

Saturday 31st *August* 1805.

a fine morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on 2 miles and passed Several Indian lodges where we bought a nomber of fine Salmon. the natives have wires [weirs] fixed across the River in which they catch more or less evverry night. a Strange Indian came in Site of these lodges who they expected to be one of the nation called the flat heads. he ran as Soon as he Saw us Several of these natives followed after him. we went on a Short distance further crossed the River and halted for breakfast. one man out a hunting. 2 men Sent to Some other Indian Camps, with Some articles to buy Some more Sammon, but they had moved their Camps and we got none. we then proceeded on over rough hills Some of them high & Steep, deep Gullies and white earth which had been washed down by rains &c. went about eight miles and halted to bate our horses and dine. 4 or five of the natives follow us. Some pitch pine on the Mountains which make near the River on each Side. we proceeded on over a Smooth plain about 7 miles and passed along [th]e Side of a mountain near the River, where the Stone lay one [up]on another and full of holes, So that it is allmost impossable for horses to pass without breaking their leggs. we then passed along the end of this mountain. Come to a large creek which falls in on the East Side. we followed up this creek or Spring branch. found pleanty of wild or choke cherries and Servis berrys. one of the hunters killed a Deer at the edge of the evening. we Came [blank space in MS.] Miles this day and Camped at the Creek where we had Several good Indian lodges to Sleep in this night.

Sunday 1st *September* 1805.

a fine morning we Set out as usal and proceeded on over verry high mountains which was verry bad for our horses to climb up and down them. passed across Several large creeks

the water of which is verry cold. considerable of pine & cotton timber on each of those creeks. we find a great pleanty of Servis berrys which are verry Sweet and good at this time. in the afternoon we descended a Mountain nearly as Steep as the roof of a house. went down in to the valley in which runs through a large Creek. passed by a plain near the Creek a Short distance. Camped after coming 23 miles this day & Camped a little before night on account of its raining. Some of the men giged Several Sammon in the creek. three men went down to the M.° of it to purchase Some Sammon from a camp of Indians who Stay at the m.° of the Creek to fish. they bought about 25 pound with a fiew Small articles. the hunters killed a Deer and wounded two bear at dark but could not get them. the wild or choke cherrys abound in this bottom. we gethered and boiled Some which eat verry well. a nomber of Indian lodges along the creek. we had 2 at camp to Sleep in. Several Small Showers of rain this day & a little Small hail.

Monday 2.nd Sep.t 1805.

a wet cloudy morning. we loaded our horses and Set out about 7 oClock and proceed.d on. the road bad Some places thick bushes and logs to cross. other places rockey. went about a N. E. course up the ab.° men.t Creek. Crossed Several large Spring runs. Saw a nomber of large beaver dams, & ponds the pine and bolsom fer timber verry pleanty and thick up this Creek Some of the Pine is large enofe for boards [One line in MS. illegible.]

we proceeded on through a bad thicket of tall Strait pitch pine bolsom fer & cotton timber we were obledged to cut a road for the horses to go and some places verry Steep and rockey. we followed the creek up, crossed a nomber of fine Spring branches and waided the creek a nomber of times. the mountains on each Side of the Creek is verry Steep and high. the bottoms on the Creek narrow and Swampy a nomber of beaver dams. we Call this place dismal Swamp, and it is a lonesom rough part of the Country. we were obledged to climb Several hills with our horses, where it was So Steep and rockey that Some of the horses which was weak and their feet

Sore they fell back 3 or 4 fell over backwards and roled to the foot of the hills. we were then obledged to carry the loads up the hills and then load again. one of the horses gave out So that his load was left a little before night. we Came 13 miles this day and Camped in a thicket of pine and bolsom fir timber near the Creek. 2 of the men came up with their horses and loads after dark. this horrid bad going where we came up this creek which we Call dismal Swamp was six miles and we are not out of it yet, but our guide tells us that we will git on a plain tomorrow. Several fessons [Pheasants] killed this day, but no other kind of game Seen by our hunters.

Tuesday 3rd *Sept.* 1805.

cloudy. we Set out as usal after the load was brought up which was left last night. we proceeded on up the branch a Short distance, then took the mountains and w[ent] up and down the mountains all day. passed and crossed an a bundance of fine Springs and Spring runs. Some of the mountains was So Steep and rockey that Several of the horses fell back among the rocks and was near killing them. Some places we had to cut the road through thickets of bolsom fer Some of that kind of timber in the vallies of these mountains is verry high about 100 & 60 feet, and verry Strait and handsom. the most of them are covred with warts full of the bolsom towards evening we crossed a dividing ridge went some distance on the top of it which was tollarable good and Smoth going. then passed down a Steep hill in to the head of a cove and branch where we Camped after a dissagreeable days march of only 11 miles with much fatigue and hunger as nothing has been killed this day only 2 or 3 fessents, and have no meat of any kind. Set in to raining hard at dark So we lay down and Slept, wet hungry and cold. Saw Snow on the tops of Some of these mountains this day.

Wednesday 4th *Sept.* 1805.

the morning clear but verry cold our mockersons froze hard. the mountains covred with Snow. 2 mountain Sheep

Seen by one of the men. we delayed untill about 8 oClock A. M. then Set out and assended a mountain without any thing to eat. the Snow lay on the mou[t] So that it kep on our mockisons the air verry cold our fingers aked with the cold. we [de]scended the mountain down a rough rockey way and along through a large thicket of bolsom fer timber in which we killed a dozen fessents then descended down in to a large valley on a branch and halted to dine our hunter killed a Deer. Saw fresh Indian Sign. we Eat our deer. our Indian guide and the young Indian who accompanied him Eat the paunch and all the Small guts of the Deer. we then proceeded on down the valley towards evening we arived at a large Encampment of the flat head nation which is a large band of the nation of about 40 lodges. they have between 4 and 500 well looking horses now feeding in this valley or plain in our view. they received us as friends and appeared to be glad to See us. 2 of our men who were a hunting came to their lodges first the natives Spread a white robe over them and put their arms around their necks, as a great token of friendship. then Smoaked with them. when Cap[t] Lewis and Cap[t] Clark ari[ved] they Spread white robes over their Shoulders and Smoaked with them. our officers told them that they would Speak with them tomorrow and tell them our business and where we are going &c. the natives are light Complectioned decent looking people the most of them well cloathed with M[o] Sheep and other Skins. they have buffalow Robes leather lodges to live in, but have no meat at this time. but gave us abundance of their dryed fruit Such as Servis berrys cherries different kinds of roots all of which eat verry well. they tell us that we can go in 6 days to where white traders come and that they had Seen bearded men who came [from] a river to the North of us 6 days march but we have 4 mountains to cross before we come on that River. our hunters killed another Deer this evening. Came [blank space in MS.] miles to day and pitched our Camp on the plain near the Creek on the right of the Indians lodges. considerable of large pitch pine in the valley.

Thursday 5th Sept. 1805.

a clear cold morning. the Standing water froze a little last night. we hoisted our large flag this morning. Several men went out a hunting. about 10 oClock our officers held a Council with the flat head nation and told them nearly the Same as they told other nations, only told them that we wanted a fiew horses from them, and we would give them Some marchandize in return. Gave 4 of their principal men meddles made them chiefs gave each of them a Shirt and a nomber of other articles also 2 flags &c. then told them that we could not Stop long with them and that we were ready to purchase their horses, and that we could not talk with them as much as we wish, for all that we Say has to go through 6 languages before it gits to them and it is hard to make them understand all what we Say. these Savages has the Strangest language of any we have ever Seen. they appear to us to have an Emped-diment in their Speech or a brogue or bur on their tongue but they are the likelyest and honestst Savages we have ever yet Seen. our officers lay out Some marchandize in different piles to trade with the natives for horses. our officers bought twelve horses and gave a Small quantity of marchandize for each horse. we swapped 7 horses which were lame &c. Gave Some Small articles to boot. we bought 10 or a Dozen pack Saddles from the natives. our hunters all came to Camp towards evening. one of them had killed 2 young Deer and one brarow.

Friday 6th Sept. 1805.

a clear cold morning. we began to pack up our baggage and look up our horses &c. bought a nomber of lash chords and other Small articles from the natives at 10 oClock A. M. the natives all got up their horses and Struck their lodges in order to move over on the head of the Missourie after the buffalow. they make a large Show as they are numerous and have abundance of horses. we take these Savages to be the Welch Indians if their be any Such from the Language. So Capt Lewis took down the names of everry thing in their Language, in order that it may be found out whether they are

or whether they Sprang or origenated first from the welch or not. about noon we got ready to Set out. we have now 40 good pack horses, and three Colts. we loaded the horses Several men had to take 2 horses &c. 4 hunters were furnished horses without loads to hunt constant. about 1 oClock P. M. we Set out. the natives Set out at the Same time to go over on the Missourie. we proceeded on our journey. crossed a large creek went over a mountain about 7 miles came down on the Same creek and Camped nothing to eat but a little pearched corn. on[e] hunter Stayed out all night. light Sprinklings of rain through the course of the day.

Saturday 7th Sept. 1805.

a cloudy cold morning. we Set out eairly, and proceeded on down the creek. our hunter came up who Stayed out last night. had lost his horse. we proceeded on over a plain. the bottoms narrow and considerable of timber large pine and cotton along the creek high mountains on the L. Side of the creek which are covred with pitch pine. Some of the highest are covred thick with Snow. one of our hunters killed 2 Deer which revived us. Some of the hunters killed a goose & a crain Several fessents and a hawk. Several Small Showers of rain in the course of the day. the valley gitting wider the creek larger. the plain Smooth and dry. the Soil verry indifferent. we Came 18 miles this day and Camped on the bank of the Creek. we passed Several creeks and branches which run into the main creek this day. one of our hunters did not join us this evening. a little rain. our course this day is generally N. west.

Sunday 8th Sept. 1805.

cloudy and verry chilley and cold. we Set out eairly and proceeded on down this large creek or Small River. passed over Smooth dry plains. no timber only along the River, which is large pitch pine the bottoms wide. we crossed Several creeks. Saw Snow on the Mountains to our left. high barron hills to our right. about 11 oClock we halted to dine at

a branch our hunters all joined us. had killed an Elk and a Deer, Which they brought with them. the wind from N. W. chilley and cold. the Snow lays thick on the Mo[t] a little to our left. we delayed and let our horses feed about 2 hours, and proceeded on down the valley. had Several Small cold Showers of rain & a little hail. passed over level Smooth plains in this valley. the Mountains are rough on each Side and are covered with pine and the tops of which are covered with Snow. Some places appear to lay thick. one of our hunters found & caught 2 horses and a handsom Colt. we take them along with us though the horses are lame. we expect that to be the reason that the natives left them in these bottoms. we travveled 20 odd miles this day and Camped at the Creek and Smooth bottom where was fine feed for our horses. our hunters all joined us one of them had killed a Deer. crossed Several branches in course of the day.

Monday 9[th] Sept. 1805

a cloudy cold morning, wind from the N. W. we Set out as usal, and proceeded on down the valley. Smooth pleasant plains, large pitch pine timber along the River. no timber on the plains but they are covred with grass and wild hysop. the Soil poor. crossed Several branches on which is pine timber, also, a little cotton timber &c. the Snow continues on the Moun[t] each Side of the valley. about 11 oClock we halted at a branch to dine one of the hunters had killed three geese and a wood pecker. Cap[t] Clark killed 4 fessents or prarie hens. we find wild or choke cherries along the branches. we delayed about 2 hours and a half. then proceeded on down the valley. passed through a large bottom covred with handsom pitch pine timber, from that a pleasant plain the remainder of this day. the afternoon pleasant, but the Snow Still continues on the Mountains as usal. Came about [blank space in MS.] Miles this day and Camped on a plain near a creek which runs in to the River about 2 m[l] below. our hunters all but one joined us had killed 3 Deer and Several ducks this day &c. course N. W. and North all day.

Tuesday 10th *Sept.* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. not So cold as usal. as our road leads over a mountain to our left, we conclu[de] our Captains conclude to Stay here this day to take observations, and for the hunters to kill meat to last us across the mountain and for our horses to rest &c. Several men and all the best hunters went out a hunting considerable of cotton timber on this creek the choke cherries abound on its bottoms. the natives has lately gethered an amence quantities of them here for food, as they mooved up. considerable of Elder willow and Servis bushes along the Creek &c. theo [though] the day is warm the Snow does not melt on the Mr. a Short distance from us. considerable of pitch pine on the mountains, but the Snow makes them look like the middle of winter. the valley and plains are pleasant. towards evening the hunters all came or returned to Camp had killed 4 Deer 2 ducks a faun deer and Several geese. towards evening one of the hunters went up the creek a Short distance came across three Indians a horse-back they appeared afraid of him untill he lay down his gun they then came up to him in a friendly manner and took him on behind one of them and rode verry fast down to our Camp. they belong to the nation of flat heads. 2 of our hunters was down the River in cite of the forks to day, and allow it to be about 15 miles down the valley. these three natives tell us that they lay in hearing of our guns all day and was afraid to come to us. they tell us that two of the Snake Indians has Stole 22 of their horses, and these three are in persuit of them. one Stayed to pilot us over the mout. the other 2 proceeded on in order to ride all night after them, intending to git their horses if possable. our guide tells us that these waters runs in to Mackinzees River as near as they can give an account, but he is not acquainted that way. So we go the road he knows.

Wednesday 11th *Sept.* 1805.

a beautiful pleasant morning. we went out to hunt up our horses, but they were So Scattered that we could not find them all untill 12 oClock, So we dined here. the Latitude at this

place is 46°, 48′, 28 8/10″ North. the Snow on the mountain about 1 mile to the S. W. of us does not melt but verry little. Some of the men who were hunting the horses detained us Untill 4 oClock at which time we Set out and proceeded on up this Creek Course nearly West. the narrow [bo]ttom along this creek is mostly covred with pine timber. passed a tree on which was a nomber of Shapes drawn on it with paint by the natives. a white bear Skin hung on the Same tree. we Suppose this to be a place of worship among them. Came about 7 miles this evening and Camped on a Smooth plain near the Creek, where had lately been a large Encampment of Indians. Saw one house made of Earth. the pine trees pealed as far up as a man could reach. we Suppose that the natives done it to git the enside beark to mix with their dryed fruit to Eat. the Choke cherries are pleanty &c.

Thursday 12th Sept. 1805.

a white frost, and clear pleasant morning. the hunters Set out eairly. we loaded up and Set out soon after Sunrise, and proceeded on a Short distance. then took the mountains covred with pitch pine. went up and down a nomber of bad hills and mo^t^ crossed Several runs & about 1 oClock P. M. we descended a bad part of the mo^t^ nearly Steep came down on the creek again, and halted to dine. our hunters has killed this day 4 Deer and a fessent. we proceeded on crossed 2 more creeks, and assended a high rough mountain rockey & a verry rough trail to follow. we proce^d^ on along the ridge which was covred with pitch pine timber. night came on and we had to go through the thickets of pine and over logs &c. untill about 10 oClock at in the evening before we could git any water. then descended a Steep part of the mountain down on the Creek which we left at noon, and Camped on the bank of the creek where we had Scarsely room to Sleep. Came 17½ miles this day. Saw high Mountains to the South of us covred with Snow, which appears to lay their all the year round. Scarsely any feed for our horses.

Friday 13th Sept. 1805.

cloudy. we got our horses up all but the one Capt Lewis rode and a colt which our young Indian rode. we hunted Some time for them but could not find them. then all but 2 or three loaded the horses and proceeded on a Short distance passed a warm Spring, which nearly boiled where it Issued out of the rocks a Short distance below the natives has dammed it up to bathe themselves in, and the water in that place is considerable above blood heat. it runs out in Sundry places and Some places cooler than others. Several of us drank of the water, it has a little sulp[h]ur taste and verry clear. these Springs are very beautiful to See, and we think them to be as good to bathe in &c. as any other ever yet found in the United States. a handsom green or Small meadow on the creek near Sd Springs. a little above we could not git along the Indian trail for the timber which had been blown down in a thicket of pine &c. So we went around a hill came on the trail again and proceeded on untill about 11 oClock and halted to dine and let our horses feed on the main fork of the creek where was Several beaver dams. Capt Lewis and the men who Stayed back to hunt their horses joined us, but had not found them our hunters gone on a head the mountains rough and rocks which appear above the timber like towers in Some places. the day proved pleasant. we proceeded on assended a high mountain, over took the hunters. they had killed a Deer. 2 of them Sent back after Capt Lewis's horse. we crossed the dividing ridge found it only about half a mile from the head Spring of the water running East to a branch running west. each heading on an open Swamp, which is level and full of Springs, Came [blank space in MS.] miles this day and Camped on the branch running west where we had good feed for our horses.

Saturday 14th Sept. 1805.

a cloudy morning. we eat the last of our meat, and Set out as usal. ascended a mountain covrd with pine. abt 4 miles we descended it down on the Creek at a fork where it ran very rapid and full of rocks. we then ascended a verry high mountain, about 4 miles from the forks of the creek to the top of it

went Some distance on the top then descended it about 6 miles. Some places verry Steep. came down at another fork of the Creek where it was consid[r] larger. the Natives had a place made across in form of our wires [weirs] in 2 places, and worked in with willows verry injeanously, for the current [was] verry rapid. we crossed at the forks and proceeded on down the creek. passed Several late Indian Encampments. our Guide tells us that the natives catch a great nomber of Sammon along here. we went down the creek ab[t] 4 miles and Camped for the night. Eat a little portable Soup, but the men in jeneral So hungry that we killed a fine Colt which eat verry well, at this time. we had Several light Showers of rain and a little hail. Several claps of Thunder. we came in all [blank space in MS.] miles this day. the 2 hunters joined us with Cap[t] Lewis horse which had been lost. Saw high mounta[n] a little to the South of us, which are covred with Snow. the most of these mountains are covred with pine. Saw Some tall Strait Siprass [Cypress] or white ceeder to day. the Soil indifferent, and verry broken. the Countrey all mountaineous. our hunters found a Stray horse on the road. a Small Indian horse came to us this evening.

Sunday 15[th] *Sept.* 1805.

cloudy. we loaded up our horses and Set out at 7 oClock, and proceeded on down the creek a Short distance crossed Several Springs and Swampy places covred with white ceeder and tall handsom Spruce pine, which would be excelent for boards or Shingles. we crossed a creek a Small pond a little below, then assended a high mountain. Some places So Steep and rockey that Several of the horses fell backward and roled down among the rocks 20 or 30 feet but did not kill them. we got on to the ridge of the mo[t] and followed it riseing over Several high knobs, where the wind had blown down the most of the timber. we found a Small Spring before we came to the highest part of the mountain where we halted and drank a little portable Soup, and proceeded on up on the top of the mountain, which is covred with timber Spruce &c. and Some Spots of Snow and high clifts of rocks. it is about 10 miles

from the foot of this mountain to the top and the most of the way verry Steep. we marched on top of this mountain untill after dark in hopes to find water, but could not find any, So we Camped on the top ridge of the mountain without finding any water, but found plean[ty] of Snow, which appear to have lain all the year we melted what we wanted to drink and made or mix^{d} a little portable Soup with Snow water and lay down contented. had come [blank space in MS.] miles to day.

Monday 16th Sep^{t}. 1805.

when we awoke this morning to our great Surprise we were covred with Snow which had fallen about 2 Inches the latter part of last night, and continues a verry cold Snow Storm. Cap^{t} Clark Shot at a deer but did not kill it. we mended up our mockasons. Some of the men without Socks raped rags on their feet, and loaded up our horses and Set out without anything to eat, and proceeded on. could hardly See the old trail for the Snow. kept on the ridge of the mountain Several high knobs to pass over but had more down hill than up. about one oClock finding no water we halted and melted Snow and made a little more Soup, and let our horses graze 1 hour & a half. then proceeded on the Snow is fell So fast that it is now in common 5 or 6 Inches deep. Some places is considerable of old Snow on the mou^{tn}. towards evening we descended the mountain down in a lonesome cove on a creek where we Camped in a thicket of Spruce pine & bolsom fir timber. all being tired & hungry, obledged us to kill another colt and eat the half of it this evening. it has quit Snowing this evening, but continues chilley and cold. Came about 15 miles to day over a rockey rough road. Some places bare on the top high places of rocks &c.

Tuesday 17th Sep^{t}. 1805.

cloudy and cold. we went out to hunt our horses, but found them much Scatered. the mare which owned the colt, which we killed, went back & led 4 more horses back to where we took dinner yesterday. the most of the other horses found Scat^{d} on the mountain but we did not find them all untill 12

oClock at which time we Set out and proceeded on. the Snow lay heavy on the timber. passed along a rough road up and down the Mountains descended down a Steep part of the mou^{tn}. the afternoon clear & warm. the Snow melted So that the water Stood in the trail over our mockasons in Some places. verry Slippery bad travvelling for our horses. we assended verry high mountains verry rockey. Some bald places on the top of the moun^{tn}. high rocks Standing up, & high precepices &c. these mou^{ts} mostly covred with Spruce pine & bolsom fer timber. crossed Several creeks or Spring runs in the Course of the day Came about [MS. torn] miles this day, and Camped at a Small branch on the mountain near a round deep Sinque hole full of water. we being hungry obledged us to kill the other Sucking colt to eat. one of the hunters chased a bear in a moun^{tn}. but killed nothing. we expect that their is game near a head. we hear wolves howl & Saw Some deer Sign &c.

Wednesday 18th *Sep^{t}* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. Cap^{t} Clark and Six hunters Set out at Sunrise to go on a head to try to kill Some game if possable. we got up all our horses except one which we expect is lost. one man Sent back Some distance to hunt him. we Set out about 7 oClock and proceeded on a ridge of the mountains Some distance, then went up and down rough rockey mountains as usal. but verry little water. about 3 oClock P. M. we halted on a ridge of the moun^{tn}. to let our horses feed a little, and melt a little Snow as we found no water to make a little Po^{rt}. Soup as we have nothing else to eat. the day moderate the Snow melts a little. the mountains appear a head as fer as we can See. they continue much further than we expected. we proceeded on down a verry Steep part of the moun^{t} then up on the side of another before we found any water, and Camp^{d} at dark on the Side of the mo^{tn}. where we found a Spring by going down a Steep hill where it was dangerous to take our horses to water. we Suped on a little portable Soup and lay down on this Sideling mount^{n}. Came 14 miles [to]day

Thursday 19th Sept. 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out as usal and assended up to the top of S^d^ mou^t^ and discovered a plain in a valley about 20 miles from us where we expect is the Columbian River. which puts us in good Spirits again. we descended down the moun^tn^ which was verry Steep descent, for about three miles. then assended another as bad as any we have ever been up before. it made the Sweat run off of our horses & ourselves. on the top the ground was froze a little and the ground mostly covred with Snow. the Spruce pine & bolsom timber continues on these mo^tn^ as usal. Some places thick bushes. we des^cd^ the mo^t^ down in a narrow valley where we found a run of water and halted to bate our horses and to drink a little portable Soup. one of the men killed a fessent. their is not any kind of game or Sign of any to be Seen in these mou^t^ Scarsely any birds itself. we delayed about 2 hours and proceeded on descended the mountain about 4 miles came to a creek running about East. we followed up the creek. a bad peace of the road, Some places along Side of the mount^n^ which is high & Steep on each Side of the creek. one of our horses fell backward and roled about 100 feet down where it was nearly Steep and a Solid rock & dashed against the rock in the creek, with a load of Ammunition. but the powder being in canisters did not git damaged nor the horse killed, but hurt. we proceeded on. Came about 17 miles this day and Camped at a run in Sd. moun^t^, our course this day was generally west. the timber continues as usal. we Suped [on] a little portable Soup. the most of the party is weak and feeble Suffering with hunger. our horses feet are gitting Sore and fall away in these mountains, but we are in hopes to git out of them Soon.

Friday 20th Sept. 1805.

a cold frosty morning. we eat a fiew peas & a little greece which was the verry last kind of eatables of any kind we had except a little portable Soup. we got up our horses except one which detained us untill about 8 oClock before we found him. we then load up our horses and Set out. proceeded on up the creek a Short distance and found a line which Cap^t^ Clark

had left with the meat of a horse which they found and killed as they had killed nothing after they left us only three prarie hens or Phesants. we took the horse meat and put it on our horses and proceeded on a Short distance further. then left the creek and went over a mountain S. W. then followed down a ridge, came to a Spring run and halted and dined Sumptiously on our horse meat. one horse Strayed from us which had on him a pear of portmantaus which had in it Some marchandize and Cap^{t} Lewis winter cloaths &c. 2 men Sent back to the creek to hunt him. we proceeded on up and down Several hills and followed a ridge where the timber was fell So thick across the trail that we could hardly git along. our horses got Stung by the yallow wasps. we did not find any water to Camp untill after dark, and then Camped on a ridge found a little water in a deep gulley a Short distance from us. the different kinds of pine continues as usal. considerable of Strait handsome timber on these ridges, which resembles white ceeder but is called Arbervity no other kind except the pine & bolsom fer, all of which grows verry tall and Strait. the mountains not So high as back but verry broken. Came about 14 miles this day. the plains appear Some distance off yet. it is twice as far as we expected where we first discovred it from a high mountain.

Saturday 21st *Sep^{t}* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we went out eairly to hunt up our horses, but they were much Scatered. we did not find them all untill about 10 oClock at which time we Set out and proceeded on crossed a creek & went on a west course over a hilley rough trail. on Some of the ridges the timber has been killed by fire and fell across the trail So that we had Some difficulty to git a long the trail. in the after part of the day we descended down a hill & came to the forks of a creek where it is large. we went down it a Short distance and Camped at a good place for feed near the creek. had Come 11 miles this day. Cap^{t} Lewis killed a wolf. Some of the men killed a duck and three Phesants. we caught Some craw fish in the creek, and eat them.

Sunday 22nd *Sept.* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. a white frost. we were detained Some time a hunting our horses. about nine oClock we found all the horses and Set out ascended a mountain and proceeded on Came on a Smoth level clear place & a run of water. met R. Fields who Capt. Clark Sent back to meet us with Some Sammon and other kinds of food which they had purcd. from Some Indians which they found Encamped about 8 miles from this. we halted and divided out the food and eat it found it verry good. we delayed about one hour & a half, then proceeded on. the 2 men who had been back for the lost horse soon overtook us. they had found the horse & portmauntaus, and took on the horse with the one they took with them untill last night then they lost boath of the horses. they expect that they were Stole by Some of the natives. So they brought the portmantaus &c. on their backs. we proceeded on over a mountain and down in a handsome Smoth valley. ariv[ed] at an Indian village in a delightful plain. large pitch pine around it. these Savages was verry glad to See us the men women & children ran meeting us & Seemed rejoiced to See us. we Camped near [the] village at a Small branch. the natives gave us Such food as they had to eat, consisting of roots of different kinds which was Sweet and good also red & black haws &c. the principal roots which they made use off for food are pleanty. this praries are covred with them they are much like potatoes when cooked, and they have a curious way of cooking them. th[e]y have places made in form of a Small coal pit, & they heat Stone in the pit. then put Straw over the Stone, then water to raise a Steem. then they put on large lo[a]ves of the pounded potatoes, and 8 or 10 bushels of potatoes on at once then cover them with wet Straw and Earth. in that way they Sweet [sweat] them untill they are cooked, and when they take them out they pound Some of them up fine and make them in loaves and cakes. they dry the cakes and String them on Strings, in Such a way that they would keep a year & handy to carry, any journey. Capt. Clark arived here this evening, and informed us that he had been on a branch of the Columbian River where it was navigable for canoes, and

only about 8 & half miles from this place & a good road. the hunters Stayed at the River to hunt. one of them had killed 2 Deer at the River. the natives gave us Some excelent fat Sammon to eat with the root or potatoe bread.

Monday 23rd *Sept.* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we purchased considerable quantity of Sammon and root or potatoe bread from the natives. these natives are now at war with Some other nation to the west, and the most of the warrie[r]s, are mostly gone to war, and the women are engaged laying up food for the winter as they tell us that they intend going over to the Missourie in the Spring after the buffaloe &c. Some of the natives have copper kittles, and beeds a fiew knives &c. which they tell us that they got from the traders to the west, which must have Come from the western ocean. they are verry fond of our marchandize. the large blue beeds they are the fondest of but are glad to git anything we have. a Small peace of red cloath, as wide as a mans hand they gave as much for as they would for double the value in any other article. our officers gave the chiefs of this village a flag & one to the chief of the next village about 2 miles further on our road, which they hoisted. these natives live well are verry kind and well dressed in mountain Sheep & deer & Elk Skins well dressed. they have buffaloe robes but are verry choice of them. in the afternoon we got up our horses, all except one which we could not find. we loaded up our horses, left one man who had not found his horse, and went down to the next village about 2 miles and Camped. bought Some more Sammon and Some dressed Elk Skins &c. we had a Shower of rain attended with Thunder this evening. these Savages at this village live the Same as those at the other village. they are numerous and talk loud & confused. they live [with] much comfort in their villages. Several lodges all join. the most of them have leather lodges, and are makeing flag lodges &c.

Tuesday 24th *Sept.* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we went out eairly a hunting our horses, which were Scatered all over the plain. Saw a vast

nomber of horses which belong to the natives, the most of which are in good order and good horses in general. Saw a nomber of Squaws digging the wild potatoes in the plains. the Soil verry rich and lays handsom for cultivation. we loaded up our horses. one man Sent back in the mountains to look for the 2 horses which was lost about 8 oClock we Set out and proceeded on. the day warm. had a fine road mostly plain, Some Scatering large pitch pine, but little water. Several of the men Sick, by eating hearty of the Sweet food and Sammon. towards evening we came on the branch or fork of Columbian River, and followed down it Some distance, and went on a Small prarie Island and Camped. a hard rapid at the foot of this Island which the natives tell us is the last bad rapid in this fork of [the] River the hunters joined us with 4 Deer & 2 Sammon which they had killed. Several of the natives followed after us and Camped with us. high hills each Side of the River thinly covred with pine but not large enofe for canoes, but we expect to find Some near, So that we may leave our horses in the care of a chief and go down by water to the ocean.

Wednesday 25th Sept. 1805.

a fine morning. three men out a hunting. Capt Clark went with a chief down the River to look for timber which would answer for to make cannoes. the natives have Several Small cannoes in the River one at th[is] place. this River is about Sixty yards wide and gener[ally] deep. Some clifts of rocks along the Shores. the natives have a fishery fixed in the River [a] little above our Camp in which they catch large quantity of Sammon. they went withe the canoes and took in Several to day. they gig a great many also. towards evening Capt Clark returned had been down about 4 miles at a fork which came in on the east Side. he informs us that their is Some timber at the forks but not verry large & knotty. So we conclude to move down tomorrow. the natives drive a nomber of their horses from the villages to this place. the man who Stayed at the village for his horse arived here this evening. had got his horse by hireing Indians to git him.

Thursday 26th Sept. 1805.

clear and pleasant. we got up our horses and Set out about 8 oClock and proceeded on down the River crossed a creek which came in on the East Side. then crossed the River at a Shole place, but wide the water to the horses belleys. proceeded on down the South Side of the River and Camped opposite the fork which came in on the N. Side. we formed our Camp in a narrow plain on the bank of the River. made a pen of pine bushes around the officers lodge, to put all our baggage in. Some of the natives followed us with droves of horses. Some came down the N. fork whoe had been up Some distance a fishing. had with them a Small raft which they came on with all their baggage, Sammon &c. they ran fast on a Shole place about the middle of the River opposite our Camp, and came out to See us. Some Indians came down from our last nights Camp in a canoe with Sammon &c. we went about helving our axes and git in readiness to begin the canoes. Several of the men Sick with the relax, caused by a suddin change of diet and water as well as the climate changed a little also.

Friday 27th Sept. 1805.

a fair morning. the party divided in five parties and went at falling five pitch pine trees for canoes, all near the Camp. in the afternoon the man who went back to the mountains after the lost horses joined us had found one of the horses, & had killed a large Deer, which he brought to Camp with him.

Saturday 28th Sept. 1805.

a fair morning. 2 men went out to hunt. all that were able went at work makeing the canoes & oars. the natives visit us. they catch a fiew fresh Sammon which we purchase from them. we fixed Some gigs on poles in order to gig Some ourselves. Several of the party are unwell and all takeing medicine.

Sunday 29th Sept. 1805.

a fair morning. all hands who were able to work are employed at the canoes. only two who went out to hunt. about noon the hunters Came to Camp with three Deer, which they had killed. the natives caught a nomber of Sammon which they Sold to us.

Monday 30th Sept 1805.

two hunters Stayed out last night. a fair morning. the Sick men are gitting Some better. we continued our work at the canoes as usal. our constant hunter out to day. the party in general are So weak and feeble that we git along Slow with the canoes. our hunters returned towards evening one of them had killed a Deer & a pheasant.

Tuesday 1st October 1805.

a fair morning we continued working at the canoes. built fires on Several of the canoes to burn them out found that they burned verry well. the hunters killed nothing this day.

Wednesday 2nd Oct. 1805.

a fair morning. two men Sent up to the villages with Six of our horses and Some marchandize to trade for Sammon and their kind of bread &c. we continued our work as usal at the canoes. Some hunters out in the hills a hunting. towards evening the hunters returned had killed nothing but one prarie wolf, which we eat. the party are So weak working without any kind of meat, that we concluded to kill a horse and accordingly we did kill a horse which was in tollarable order, and we eat the meat with good Stomacks as iver we did fat beef in the States. we bought a fiew fresh Sammon & Some root bread from the natives &c.

Thursday 3rd Oct. 1805.

a fair morning. we continued on our work at the canoes as usal. Some of them forward &c.

Friday 4th Oct. 1805.

a fair morning. two men out a hunting. we continue at the canoes Some of them ready to dress and finish off. our hunters killed nothing this day. Some of the men eat a fat dog.

Saturday 5th Oct. 1805.

a fair cool frosty morning. the two men who had been at the villages trading, returned late last night, with their horses loaded with the root bread and a Small quantity of Sammon, a fiew Elk Skins dressed & otter Skins for caps &c. we continue on finishing off the canoes. got up our horses and cropped their fore mane, and branded them with a Sturrip Iron on the near fore Shoulder, So that we may know them again at our return. a Chief who we Intended leaveing our horses with has engaged to go on with us & leaves the horses in care of his two Sons. 38 in nomber of the horses which we delivered up in their care towards evening we put two of the canoes which was finished in to the River. (the distance over the mountn is estimated to be 160 odd miles from where we left Flatt head River, to this place.

Sunday 6th Oct. 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we continued on with the other canoes & a carch or hole dug to berry our pack Saddles in. we got poles & oars ready. towards evening we got the other canoes ready to put in the water. Some gig poles prepared &c. a raft Seen floating down the River with Several Indians on it. one of the men killed 2 ducks. berryed the pack Saddles and Some Ammunition &c.

Monday 7th Oct. 1805.

a fair morning. we put the other three canoes in to the River and got them in readiness and loaded them. about 3 oClock P. M. we Set out on our way to descend the River. the 2 Indians we came over the mount with us continues on with us, and a chief & one more Indian who agreed to go down with us has gone by land Some distance down, and then Intends comming on board. we proceeded on over a nomber

of bad rapids where the canoes run fast and obledged us to git out in the cold water and hale them off. Some places the water is deep & current gentle for Some distance, but the Shole rapids are common & rockey. the River hills make close to the River on each Side. Some clifts of rocks, a fiew Scattering pine trees on the hills, but they are mostly barron broken & covred over with grass. Some Small cotton wood along the Shores. Some of the rapids which are deep enofe to run clear are So bad that we take water over the canoes by the waves. Strike Some large rocks & Slide of[f] without Injury. Came 21 miles and Camped on Star^{d} Side the officers canoe leaks So that they changes their Baggag[e] in an other canoe for fear of gitting the Instruments &c wet. the Evening cloudy. one man taken Sick with the collick. we passed Some old Indian Camps this afternoon & a Small canoe on Shore.

Tuesday 8th *Oct.* 1805.

a fair day. we dilayed loading &c. burryed a canister of powder [on] the Northe Side of a broken toped tree. about 9 oClock we Set out and proceeded on down the River. Saw Some Indian horses on the Side of the hills passed over Several bad rapids. took Some water in the canoes by the waves dashing over the Sides. the current rapid the most part of the way some places deep. passed clifts of rocks and bare hills on each Side. about 12 oClock we Came to Some Indian Camps, on the South Side, only 4 or 5 lodges of well looking Indians & Squaws. they had Several Small canoes and catch considerable quantitys of Sammon. we purchased Some from them by giving them a fiew green or blue or red beeds, and tin &c. the day warm. Some of the men bought 2 dogs from them. they have a great many horses feeding along the Shores and have a nomber of Small canoes. we proceeded on a Short distance further down came to Some more Indian Camps at the foot of an Is^{l} & rapids. we halted a Short time, bought Some more Sammon and Some white roots. then proceeded on a Short distance further down 2 chiefs came with us. as we were descending a rockey rapids at the foot of an

Island on which was Some Indian Camps, one of the canoes Struck a rock and whe[e]led round then Struck again and cracked the canoe and was near Spliting hir in too. throwed the Stearsman over board, who with difficulty got to the canoe again, but She soon filled with water, and hang on the rocks in a doleful Situation. Some of the men on board could not Swim, and them that could had no chance for the waves and rocks. an Indian went in a Small canoe to their assistance. our little canoe went also and took out Some of the loading, and carried it to Shore. we unloaded one of the other canoes and went in the rapid and took the loading all out of the canoe which was Stove and got all to Shore below the rapid, and Camped at dark examined found everry thing wet which was in the canoe that was Stove. Some Small articles lost. a nomber of the natives visit us this evening. we have come about 18 miles this day before the Sad axident hapened to us.

Wednesday 9th *Oct.* 1805.

a fair morning. we were obledged to delay and prepare or repair the canoe which got Stove last evening, put the loading marchandize &c out to dry. the natives brought us Some fresh Sammon. the River hills are high and continue barron on each Side. a fiew Scattering pines along the Shores. but fiew creeks puts in. the natives hang about us as though they wished to Steal or pilfer Something from us So we had to keep 2 Sentinels to watch the Marchandize &c. we got the canoe repaired and loaded. our officers tryed to purchase a fat horse for us to eat but the Natives did not bring him as they promised. in the evening we purchased a considerable quantity of Sammon, a little bears oil or greese, Some root bread, 2 dogs &c. after dark we played the fiddle and danced a little. the natives were pleased to see us. one of their women was taken with the crazey fit by our fire. She Set to Singing Indian and gave all around hir Some roots, and all She offered had to take from hir. one of our men refused to take them from hir. She then was angry and hove them in the fire, and took a Sharp flint from hir husband and cut hir arms

in Sundry places So that the blood gushed out. She wiped up the blood and eat it. then tore off Some beeds and peaces of copper &c. which hung about hir and gave out to them that were round hir a little to each one. Still kept hir Singing and makeing a hishing noise. She then ran around went to the water Some of her kindred went after hir and brought hir back She then fell in to a fit and continued Stiff and Speechless Some time they pored water on hir face untill She came too. Cap^{t} Clark gave hir Some Small things which pleased hir.

Thursday 10th *Oct.* 1805.

a fair morning. our 2 Indians who came with us from the Snake nation left us yesterday. we Set out eairly and proceeded on down Several bad rapids took in Some water in the canoes. passed Several Indian fishing camps where we bought Some Sammon from them they have a nomber of Small canoes along the Shore. about 11 oClock we came to a verry bad rockey rapid, where we halted and took one canoe over at a time. one of the canoes ran fast on a rock Stove a hole in hir Side with Some difficulty we got hir to Shore, unloaded and repaired hir Some of the natives caught Some of our oars and poles which was washed away in the rapids. we bought some more Sammon & a dog or two. about 2 oClock we proceeded on passed Several more fishing Camps. passed down Some verry bad rapids which were Shallow. we had to wade in Several rapids to hale the canoes over. about 5 oClock P. M. we arived at the forks of the Columbian river. we proceeded on down it a Short distance and the wind blew So high from the west that we Camped on the Starbord Side. had come 20 miles this day & mostly a west course a nomber of fishing camps along the Shores about the forks. this is a large River afords a large body of water & is about 400 yards wide, and of a greenish coulour. No timber barron & broken praries on each Side.

CHAPTER XV

THE RAPIDS OF THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA

October 11–20, 1805

Friday 11th *Oct.* 1805.

A FAIR morning. we Set out eairly. two more Indians with a Small canoe accompy us. we proceeded on passed over Some rapid water but the current mostly gentle. about 8 oClock we came to a fishing Camp & party of Indians, where we bought considerable quantity of Sammon, and 8 or 10 fat dogs to eat. Some dryed haws &c. Saw among them Some peace of fish net which they must have come from white people. a tea kettle made of copper Seen also &c. we proceeded on passed a great nomber of fishing camps where the natives fish in the Spring. the Stone piled up in roes So that in high water the Sammon lay along the Side of the line of rocks while they would gig them. the country is barron a high hills and clifts of rocks on each Side of the River not even a tree to be Seen no place. a fiew willows along the Shores Some places. Some rapids in the River but Some of them roles high waves but a large body of water. we roed 30 miles this day and Camped at a fishing Camp of Indians on the S. Side where we bought 3 or 4 more dogs and Some Sammon &c. one Indian from an other nation came among them f[rom] falls

Saturday 12th *Oct.* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on as usal. the country continues the Same as yesterday. Saw a nomber of old fishing Camps along the Shores. the current Swift in Some places, but gentle in general. about

12 oClock we halted to dine on the Lar^{d} Shore could Scarsely find wood enofe to cook our victules. Cap^{t} Lewis took an Meridian observation. we then proceeded on verry well passed Several more fishing Camps. the wind rose hard from the west our general course west. high clifts of rocks & high prarie on each Side. this River is verry handsom and country pleasant but no timber at all. we Came 35 miles this day and Camped on the Starbord Side at the head of a bad rockey rapid which we expect is difficult to pass. the Indians canoe and our Small pilot canoe went over this evening. we expect that we have got past the numerous flat head nation. only the guides who are with us they tell us that in 2 days more we will come to another nation at a fork which comes in on the S. Side of the Columbian River.

Sunday 13th *Oct.* 1805.

a rainy wet morning. we delayed untill about 10 oClock A. M. then took 2 of the canoes at a time down the rapids all the men which could not Swim went by land and carried Some rifles & Instruments &c. we got Safe below the rapids by 12 oClock. dined on Sammon and proceeded over Several more rapids the wind hard a head. cleard off about 2 oC. P. M. we Saw Several Old camps where the natives fish in the Spring, but no timber except what they raft down a long distance, and they Scaffel it up verry carefully. towards evening we came to a verry rockey place in the River & rapid the River all confined in a narrow channel only about 15 y^{ds} wide for about 2 mile and ran as [s]wift as a mill tale the canoes ran down this channel Swifter than any horse could run. a great fishery below these rapids. Saw 2 Indians Swim their horses across the River to the N. S. and follow down the River they have to ride fast to keep up with us for the current mostly rapid. the clifts & hills high plains & barrons continues on each Side of the River as usal. we Came [blank space in MS.] miles this day, and Camped on the Star^{d} Side. passed a Creek on the Lar^{d} Side this af^{t}noon.

Monday 14th *Oct.* 1805.

a clear cold morning the wind high a head & west. we took an eairly breakfast and Set out and proceeded on. as usal the current mostly rapid about noon we went down a verry bad rockey rapid the worst we have passd. in this River. three of the canoes ran fast on a Solid rock at the head of the rapids two on at a time and was in great dangr. of being lost. one Struck a rock in the middle of the rapids and luckily escaped being Stove. as luck would have it we all got Safe down. a Small Island near the Lard. Side, in the rapids we halted a little below to dine. two Indians are rideing down the River, and have to ride verry fast to keep up with us. we proceeded on verry well about 8 miles then came to a rockey rapid at the head of an Island in which one of the canoes under charge of Sergt. ordway ran fast on a Solid rock. they got out on the rock and attempted to Shove the canoe off the rock, but could not Start hir for Some time. the waves dashed over hir bow So that when we got hir loose from the rock She filled full of water and considerable of the baggage and bedding washed out. one of the canoes below unloaded and went to their assistance. took out Some of the loading. the canoe then broke away from them and left 4 men Standing on the rock. the water half leg deep over the Smooth rock & rappid. a canoe Shortly went and took them off the rock, and got all to Shore except a Small brass kittle & bowl, 2 mens robes & blankets 2 Spoons, one bag of root bread one Shot pouch & powder horn a dressed Elk Skin and Some other Small articles. we Camped below the rapids on Sd. Island and put out all the wet baggage to dry. we found Some wood on the Island covered up with Stones where the natives burryed Sammon everry Spring. wood was So Scarse that we made use of that which was covred So carefully with Stone. we came [blank space in MS.] miles this day. the country continues barron. Some places broken, other places high Smooth plains &c. Some or one of the men killed 7 or 8 ducks today.

Tuesday 15th Oct. 1805.

a clear cool morning. we delayed here to dry the baggage. Some of the men went out and killed three geese & Several ducks. about 3 oClock P. M. we loaded up the canoes and Set out and proceeded on over Several rapids and Swift water. passed Several Scaffels of wood where it was put up to be Saved for the use of their fishing in the Spring. the country continues as yesterday. we came 17 miles and Camped above a bad rapid on a Sand bar no wood except an Indians Scaffel we had to take Some of the wood for our use this evening.

Wednesday 16th Oct. 1805.

we Set out as usal and proceeded on. Over Several bad rapids which was full of rocks. one of the canoes Struck a rock in a rapid and Swung on it they Stayed their untill we unloaded and took a canoe I was on board the canoe which Struck. the small canoes came to our assistance also. we got the load and canoe Safe to Shore, loaded again and proceeded on over Several more rapids then came to a verry bad rapid, the worst or had the highest waves of any we have yet passd. we halted above the rapid and carried considerable of the baggage by land about a mile. then took the canoes Safe over, and loaded up and proceeded on down Several more rapids towards evening we arived at the forks of the river which came from a northly direction and is larger than this Colum^{a}. R. the country around these forks is level Smooth barron plains not even a tree to be Seen as far as our eyes could extend a few willows along the Shores. we found about 2 hundred or upwards Camped on the point between the two Rivers. a verry pleasant place. we Camped near them on the point. the natives Sold us eight dogs and Some fresh Sammon. the whole band came in a body Singing in their form to our fires and Smoaked with us and appeared friendly. they have beeds and brass and coper in Small peaces hanging about them, which they Sign to us that they got them from white people on a River to the north, and Some down about the mouth of this River. we went [blank space in MS.] miles this day. passed Several Islands &c.

Thursday 17th Oct. 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we delay here to day for our officers to take observations &c. the natives Sold us a nomber more dogs and fresh Sammon &c. these Savages have but verry fiew buffalow Robes, but are dressed in deer & Elk Skins. the deer Skins are dressed with the hair on and Sowed together in robes. Some of them have red and blew cloath and a nomber of articles which came from Some white people. they have Some horses. they Sign to us that their is deer and Elk below this. we Saw an emence Site of fowls on the plain considerable la[r]ger than the prarie or haith [heath] hens. Some of the party went out and killed 3 of them. we now call the north fork as it is the largest the Columbian River, and the other which we came down loose [loses] it[s] name from Columb. and we call it after the Indian name ki-moo-e-nem. the Columbian River is more Smooth and the current gentle the Natives have a great nomber of canoes, and fishing camps along the Shores. Capt Clark and two men went up the Columb. River in a canoe 3 or 4 miles to the Indians lodges they Saw a vast quantitys of live Sammon in the River they giged one which was verry larg[e] they Saw a great nomber lay dead on [the] Shores. Some of the men killed Several more haith hens most as large as Turkeys. we cannot find out what nation these are as yet, but our officers gave the principal men meddles a flag and Some other Small articles &c. we bought in all 26 dogs from the natives this day. these Savages are peaceable but verry poor. they have nothing of any account to trade. a nomber of them have not any thing to cover their nakedness, but the greater part of them have dressed deer & Elk Some rabit Skins &c. to cover themselves. Saw a nomber of horses on the opposite Shore. we have lately Seen a nomber of their grave yards pickeded in &c.

Friday 18th Oct. 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we delay untill after 12 oClock today for Capt Lewis to complete his observations. Capt Clark measured the width [of the] Columbian River and the ki-moo-e-nem found the Columbian R. to be 860 yards wide and the

ki-moo-e-nem River to be 475 yards wide at the forks. Some of the party killed Several more haith hens about 12 oClock we loaded up the canoes. Cap^{t} Lewis took down Some of three languages of these Savages, as fer as we could make them understand. about 2 oClock P. M. we Set out only two chiefs with us who come with us from the flat heads. we proceeded on down the Columbia River, which is now verry wide from a half a mile to three forths wide and verry Smooth & pleasant the country level for about 16 miles down then the hills and clifts made near the River, and Some Rapid places in the River. pass^{d} Several Islands on which was large camps of Indians and Scaffels of abundance of Sammon. Saw the Sammon thick jumping in the river Some dead in the R. and along the Shore. the Latitude at the forks as taken by Cap^{t} Lewis and Clark is [blank space in MS.] North. we proceeded on over Several rapids places pass^{d} Several large Camps of Indians which have flag lodges and abundance of Sammon, and have a great nomber of horses we went [blank space in MS.] miles and Saw no timber of any acc^{t} not a tree to be Seen. we Camped on the Lar^{d} Side. got a fiew Small willows only to burn. a nomber of the natives came in their canoes to See us. they have a great nomber of Small canoes &c.

Saturday 19th Oc^{t} 1805.

a clear cold morning. took an eairly breakfast. the Natives came to See us in their canoes. brought us Some fish which had been roasted and pounded up fine and made up in balls, which eat verry well. about 7 oC. A. M. we Set out and proceeded on down the R. passed high clifts of rocks on each Side pass^{d} over Several rockey rapids. our officers gave one of the Natives we left this morning a meddel. we passed Several Islands on which was Indian fishing Camps. the natives all hid themselves in their flag lodges when they Saw us comming. the Indians are numerous the camps near each other along the Shores the River pleasant only at the rapids which are common we pass^{d} over Several today but no exident hapened. the Country around level plains except Some hills & clifts along the Shores. we discovred a high hill or mount^{n} along

distance down the River which appears to have Snow on it. we went 36 miles this day and Camp.d opposite a large Indian Camp on the South Side a great nomber of the natives come over in their canoes to see us. when any of these natives die they deposite all their property with them. we Saw one of their grave yards to day, even a canoe was Split in peaces and Set up around the yard Several other ar.t [articles] also.

Sunday 20.th *Oct.* 1805.

a clear frosty morning. we Set out eairly. passed a handsom peace of the River the country low Smooth plains on each Side. Saw Some pillicans, and abundance of crows & ravens, as the Shores is lined with dead Sammon. about 12 oClock we came to a large Indian Camp on the point of a large Island. we halted to dine. we bought Several Small articles from the natives and Saw Some articles which came from Some white people Such as copper kittles, red cloth Some arsh [ash] paddles &c. we proceeded on passed a great nomber of Indian Camps, where they had abundance of fish hung on Scaffels to dry. passed over Several rapids to day but no exident hapened. the country continues as usal the hunters killed 9 ducks and a goose this day. we Come 46 miles and Camped on the Star.d Side. no wood only a fiew Small Sticks, & green willow &c. we Saw Some akehorns among the natives which is a Sign of oak being in the country for they boil and eat them. we Saw red cloth which appeared to have come from white people this last Sommer.

CHAPTER XVI

DESCENDING THE COLUMBIA TO TIDEWATER

October 21–November 1, 1805

Monday this 21st Oct. 1805.

A CLEAR cold morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on as usal, untill about 8 oClock at which time we halted at an Indian Camp where we bought Some wood and cooked breakfast. bought Some pounded fish from the Natives and Some roots bread which was made up in cakes in form of ginger bread and eat verry well. Saw a nomber of Rackoon Skins also otter and fisher Skins &c. they gave us any thing we asked for by our giving any Small article we pleased we proceeded on passed clifts of rocks and River hills on each Side passed over Several verry bad rockey rapids, where the River was nearly filled with high rocks of a dark coulour, and the water divided in narrow deep channels, where we ran through verry fast high waves and whorl pools below. passd Several Islands and fishing Camps where the natives had a large quantity of pounded fish the best of their Sammon pounded up and put up in Small Stacks along the Shore for winter, & cover them with Straw and pile the Stone around them. the Solid clifts continue on each Side. Saw a little Scattering pine timber on the hills on each Side of the River. Some places the rocks are high and Steep. we went about 32 miles and Camped at Some Indian Camps on the Stard Side. a handsom Spring run from a clift of rocks near our Camp. we bought Some wood from the Natives to cook with these natives appeer to be mostly covd in deer and Elk Some rabit & Squerrel Skins. they have Some blew Cloth blankets &c. we passed a Small River which came in on the Lard Side.

Tuesday 22nd Oct. 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we Set out Soon after Sunrise and proceeded on passed fishing Camps on the Stard Side high clifts on each Side of dark couloured rock, and a high rock Island with rough towers of Solid rough rocks on it a verry rough roaring rapid at the Stard Side which is the main body of the River we went down on the Lard Side a river puts in on the Lard Side about 40 yards wide & falls in it. opposite the lower part of the Island high hills & clifts on each Side, but the highest is on the Stard Side. all the natives on this River at the most of their Camps have fish nets [with] which they catch the Sammon in the Spring in great abundance. Saw considerable of Sand along the Shores for Several days past. we proceeded on to the lower end of Sd Island which is about 4 mile long at the lower end is a great nomber of fishing Camps a Short distance below is the first falls of the Columbian River. we halted [a] little above about noon, and bought Some pounded fish and root bread of the natives who are verry thick about these falls. Some of them have flag lodges and Some have cabbins of white ceeder bark. they have an abunduance of dry and pounded [fish]. bags full of Sammon and heaps of it on the Shores they have a nomber of Small canoes, and have a nomber of well looking horses. high clifts of rocks near on each Side of the falls. we found the falls to be about [blank space in MS.] feet of a perpinticular pitch and filled with Solid rocks cut in many channels. a mist rizes continually from the falls. we found that we had to make a portage of about ¾ of a mile on the Stard Side. So we went to carrying the baggage by land on our backs. hired a fiew horse loads by the natives So we got all the baggage below the falls this evening and Camped close to a high range of clifts of rocks, where the body of the River beat against it and formed a large Eddy. the natives Sign to us that it is only about Six miles below, to the next or other falls. we Saw Several Sea otter in and about these falls. the natives are troublesome about our Camp. we had went about [blank space in MS.] miles before we came to these falls. these natives Sign to us that Some white people had been here but were

gone four or 5 days journey further down. the perpinticular clifts at our Camp is [blank space MS.] feet high.

Wednesday 23rd *Oct.* 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we took an eairly breakfast in order to undertake gitting the canoes by the falls. about 8 oClock A. M. we all went with Capt. Clark and took the canoes across the River then halled them round a perpinticular pitch of 21 feet. we halled all canoes round the high rocks about a quarter of a mile then put them in the water again. this portage has been frequented by the natives halling their canoes round, and it is a great fishery with them in the Spring. and the flees are now verry thick, the ground covd. with them. they troubled us verry much this day. we got the canoes all in the River below the great falls of 22 feet perpinticular then went on board again and ran verry rapid through the whorl pools a little better than a half a mile then came to 2 little falls of about 3 feet each we let the canoes down by ropes one of them got away from us from the Lower Shoot and was taken up by the Indians below. towards evening we got all the canoes Safe down to Camp. the Latitude at this place which is called the grand falls of the Columbia River is 45°, 42′, 57·3″. the hight of the falls is in all 37 feet 8 Inches, and has a large Rock Island in them and look Shocking, but are ordinary looking. Some of the Sick men at Camp bought Several fat dogs this day. in the evening one of our chief[s] Signed to us that the Savages had a design to kill us in the night, which put us on our guard. but we were not afraid of them for we think we can drive three times our nomber.

Thursday 24th *Oct.* 1805

a clear cool morning we loaded up and Set out about 9 oClock and proceeded on down. the current verry rapid. we went through a place wher the River was all confined in a narrow channel of about 20 yds. wide high rocks on each Side the current verry rapid and full of whorl pools we ran down verry fast, passed Several fishing Camps. high barron land on

each Side of the River. about 4 oClo[ck] P. M. we went down a bad rapid where the River was cut in rockey Isl[d] &c. a Short distance below we came to another narro[ws] where the River is filled with high rocks. we halted and Camped for the night at a village of Savages or red people, which have their houses in our form only they have them in the ground except the roof which is covred with white ceeder bark Some hewn plank which are verry nice comfortable houses their flag mats &c. we bought from them Some cakes of white root bread and other kinds cramberies &c. we bought a nomber of fat dogs and Some wood for us to cook with. their appears to be Some timber back from the River. their has been white people tradeing among these Savages Saw one half white child among them. Saw also a new copper tea kittle beeds copper and a nomber of other articles which must have come from Some white trader. we had went only 7 miles this day.

Friday 25[th] Oct. 1805.

a clear morning. we carr[d] Some of our baggage about a mile, which took us below the worst of the rapids, then took one canoe down the rapids and narrows where the whole channel is confined in a narrow channel only about 25 yards wide. one of the canoes nearly fi[lled] running through the rapids waves & whorl pools. we got all the canoes down and loaded them. we have bought a large quantity about 16 common bags of pounded Sammon Some white bread cramberies &c. about 3 oClock we Set out and proceeded on down the narrows which lasted ab[t] 2 miles verry rapid 2 Small Islands of Solid rocks Stood in the channel one of the canoes ran hir bow aggainst the point and glanced off, without Injury. the water or River between these narrows and the falls, rises at high water 48 feet perpinticular by its being confined by the different narrows. a little [below] or at the lower end of the narrows we Saw a war party of Indians, with horses. they had deer & bear meat with them the head chief had on a jacket that was made of Some kind of worked Splits which would defend off the arrows. our Cap[t]s gave him

a meddle, and he gave our Capts Some bears oil and a fresh Sammon our 2 chiefs came to us and told us that their was a nation below that which had a design to kill them and us So they left us in order to return to their own village again. we then proceeded on about eight miles the hils high Some pine and oak timbr to be Seen the River got Smooth. we Campd on a high point of rocks little below the mouth of a creek on the Lard Side. timbered country back from the River [on] each Side. Saw drumm fish jump in Rivr.

Saturday 26th Oct. 1805.

a clear pleasant morning. we lay campd on the clift or pt of rocks for Safety. 2 Sentinels to guard us. our officers conclude to delay here for observations and repair the canoes &c. So we unloaded all the canoes Shaved the bottoms Smooth and pay them over and made them in good repair &c. Several men out a hunting. a nomber of the natives visited us. we dryed the articles which got wet in the canoe that filled yesterday. one of the men giged a Sammon Trout in the River. towards evening the hunters returned to Camp had killed five Deer a goose and a gray Squirrel. they Saw a great nomber of deer in the timbered land. we Saw a great no[mber] of geese and ducks. the Savages came in crafts to our Camp made of Solid wood but are made in form of Sciffs for the convenience of rideing the waves in high winds, or to coast along the Sea Shore. Several of the Indians Stayed with us this night one of them a chief. Capt Lewis compared the languages of these with those which he had taken down all the way this Side of the mountains, and find them to be all one nation but differ a little in their languages, caused by the different tribes of them Scatered Such a long distance from each other. all the way thick along the kimoo-e-nem & Columbia Rivers and to the head of all the Rivers runing in to it. we think the flat head nation to be ten Thousand Strong in all. the River began to raise about 4 oClock P. M. and raised Several Inches, the cause of which we think that the tide Swels a little up to this place.

Sunday 27th Oct. 1805.

a clear morning. the wind high from the west. 6 of the party went out to hunt, back from the River in the timbered country, Such as white oak and pitch pine. the wind continued high all day in the evening the hunters returned to Camp had killed 4 Deer. we Set the Savages across the River which had been with us all day eating our venison. our officers gave one of the principal men a meddle &c.

Monday 28th Oct. 1805.

the wind Seased the later part of last night, and began to rain and rained moderately untill morning. then cleared off we loaded up the canoes and Set out about 9 oClock the wind raised and blew high from the west. we proceeded on about 4 miles and halted at an Indian village of about 6 lodges where we Saw an old Brittish musket and Sword, copper tea kittles &c. we bought Several 5 fat dogs, Some root bread &c. then proceeded on a Short distance further down the wind rose So high from the west that caused the waves to roll So that we thought it not Safe to proceed So we halted under a clift of rocks on the Lard. Side. had Several Squalls of rain & high [wind] all day. So we Camped for the night. one of the party killed a Deer this evening, and wounded another near a Small pond a Short distance back from the River a nomber of the natives visited us &c.

Tuesday 29th Oct. 1805.

a cloudy morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on about 6 miles and halted for breakfast at Some Indian villages on the Stard. Side, where we bought a nomber more fat dogs we proceeded on the current gentle passed a great nomber of Indian villages on the Stard Side which had their houses built like those at the falls. Saw 2 or 3 Camps on the Lard. Side, which was the first we Saw on that Side of the Colm. R. passed the mo. of two creeks, one on each Side, and a Spring on Lard. Side which ran of[f] a high clift of rocks which looked curious. the country this day mountaineous high clifts of rocks on each

Side of the River. the country mostly timbred Such as pine and oak. Some cottonwood on Some of the narrow bottoms along the Shores willows also. we bought Several more dogs at one of the villages. went 26 miles and Camped at a village on the Star^{d} Side in a Small or narrow bottom of large cotton trees. we bought Several bags of pounded Sammon today. we Saw Snow on the timbred mountains on the Lar^{d} Side a little back from the River.

Wednesday 30th *Oct.* 1805.

cloudy. we bought 3 dogs of the Indians, and Set out about 7 oClock and proceeded on. the river verry Strait and wide. the Timber thick on each Side. Saw a nomber of beautiful Springs running out of the clifts on the Lar^{d} Side high hills covred with pine and Spruce. Some bottoms along the Shores covred with cotton timber, and under brush &c. the after part of the day rainy and foggey. one of the hunters killed a Deer. we Saw a great nomber of Swan and geese, turkey buzzards which had white on their wings &c. Cap^{t} Clark killed a black loon. in the evening we arived at another verry bad rapid or falls, above which the River is gentle and wide a nomber of Islands and high rocks &c. one half mile above the falls is a village of about 10 well looking cabbins covred with bark, Sunk in the ground like those at the narrows above, only these are much larger and verry comfortable, and warm. these Savages were Surprized to See us they Signed to us that they thought that we had rained down out of the clouds. a nomber of the party went in the village, and was treated in a friendly manner gave fish and the best they had to eat &c. we went 15 miles and Camped between the village and falls. continued raining. high mountains on each Side of the falls &c. we passed the mouth of a River came in on the S. Side 50 y^{ds} wide.

Thursday 31st *Oct.* 1805.

Some cloudy. we got in readiness to carry our baggage past the portage, which we expict will be about two miles. about 9 oClock cleared off pleasant. as the road was Slippery we concluded to take Some of the canoes down to day. So

we took down two canoes 1 at a time over high rocks on rollers, by main Strength and by being in the water which ran between S^d. Stone & large rocks. we had to hall them in that way past 2 of the worst rapids then took them a half a mile below, where we intend loading which will make the portage in all only about one mile, but a verry bad one. in the evening 2 Indian canoes came to our Camp 5 Indians in them which were going down the River tradeing with fish &c.

Friday 1^st. *No^v.* 1805.

a clear morning. the wind high from the N. E. and cold. So we carryed all our baggage past the portage the Indians carried their Baggage and canoes past the portage. we drew out one of the canoes to repair it. then went at taking down the other two large canoes, and the Small one. towards evening we got all Safe below the big rapids and Camped. three canoes arived at the head of the rapids a nomber of men and women on board of them. they are loaded with pounded fish and dry Sammon for trade. they Sign to [us] that they are going down to the white traders to trade their fish for blue Beeds.

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE RAPIDS TO CAPE HORN

November 2–6, 1805

Saturday 2nd Novr 1805.

A CLEAR morning. we carried a part of the baggage below the other last rapids one mile further, and ran over one canoe down the rapid at a time. about 10 oClock A. M. we got all below the last rapids we have any accot of from the Savages, then loaded the canoes agn. and about 12 oC. Set out and proceeded on over Several more rapids at the foot of large Islands. Saw 2 old ancient villages below the big rapids which was evacuated, the bark taken off of one of them and put in a pond to Soak. the frames verry large. the mountains verry high on the Lard. Side and on the S. Side a little back from the River. proceed. on abt 4 miles then the Rir got Smooth the current verry gentle &c the River wide and Strait the remdr. of the day we passed a creek on L. Side &c. great nomber of Spring runs, and Springs flowing from the high clifts and mountains, and fell off down 100 feet or more. high clifts on each Side. the Indians over took us with their canoes, which they carryed past the big rapids Saw 2 Indians dressed in red Scarlet and one in blue cloth which appeared new. they had a Musket which was made all of brass and copper, a powder flask &c. towards evening the River got more wide could Scarsely perceive any current at all. the montt and clifts contt all day. went 21 miles and Camped under a Shelving clift & a green on the Lard. Side. Saw this day abundance of geese and killed 16 of them. Saw Some Swan and brants ducks &c. passd one village this after noon on the S. Side. passd Some narrow bottoms high towers of rocks &c. the country is timbred but mostly Spruce and pine. Some oak &c.

Sunday 3rd Novr 1805.

a foggy morning. we delayd untill abt 9 oClock. Several men went out a Short distance to hunt. we Shot Several geese flying over our Camp this morning. one canoe belonging to the Savages and Several Indians camped with us last night. a handsom Spring run came in near our Camp. the fog So thick this morning that we cannot See more than one hundred yards distance. agreeable to all calculations it cannot be more than two hundred miles from this to the ocean. one of the men killd a large buck Deer. we then Set out abt 9 oC. and proceeded on the fog continued So thick that we could Scarsely See the Shores or Islands passed Several Isld abt noon we halted to dine at the mo of a River which came in on the Lard Side, the mouth of which was filled with quick Sand So that we could run a pole 6 or 8 feet in it and it emptyd in at Several places thro a verry large Sand bar which lay at the mo we then proceeded on passd the mo of a Small River on Stard the after part of the day clear and pleas[ant]. we Saw a high round mountain on the Lard Side which we expect is the Same we Saw abo the great falls and the Same that Lieut Hood gave an account off (it is nearly covd with Snow). we proceeded on the River verry wide better than a mile in general. a nomber of large Islands &c. towards evening we met Several Indians in a canoe who were going up the River. they Signed to us that in two Sleeps we Should See the Ocean vessels and white people &c. &c. the Country lower and not So mountanous the River more handsome the current verry gentle. Some bottoms covred with cotton and pine &c. passd a nomber of large Islands. went about 13 miles and Camped on a verry large & long Island which was mostly prarie and handsome. a large lake on it. we have Seen a great many Sea otter in the River ever Since we came to the Big falls. the geese and Swan ducks and brants &c. we killed Several Swan geese and brants &c. this day. a nomber of the Savages Camped with us. at Sunset we got a Small canoe from them and carried it out to the pond or lake and killed a nomber of large Swan and geese.

Monday 4th Novr 1805.

Some cloudy. the tide swell[ed] about two feet perpinticular last night and on the rise this morning. one of the men went out on the Island and killed a Deer and [a] goose. about 7 oClock we Set out and procee[d] on abt 8 mils pass[d] Several large Islands cov[d] with cotton timber & praries the River wider. we Came to a verry large village on L. Side the Savages verry nomerous in it, about 35 cabbens. it is but a niew village. they have a vast quantity of pounded Sammon in their cabbins. they have 50 canoes at their handsome village or landing they have cloths of different kinds among them. the timber Such as cotton and pine is thick in these bottoms the River is now handsome. we bought 2 dogs and Some excelent roots which we found nearly as good as potatoes. we then procee[d] on a Short distance and halted to dine on the Star[d] Side. 2 canoe loads of Savages followed us from the village. they Stole Capt Clarks pipe Tomahawk which we could not find. [MS. torn] all the way on [MS. torn] timbered bottoms on each Side cov[d] with cotton and oak timber. a little back from the River the hills is covred with pine and Spruce from which the Savages git the bark to cover their villages. pass[d] Several more verry large villages on each Side. the Savages are verry numerous. the country appears to be good, the Soil rich and game tolbr pleanty. we Saw the Indians bring in Several deer to day which they had killed with their bows and arrows. towards evening we met a large canoe loaded with Indians one of them could curse Some words in Inglish. they had a Sturgeon on board. they [their] canoe had images worked on the bow & Stern. they had five muskets on board. we discovered a high round mountain some dis[tance] back from the River on Star[d] Side which is called mount Rainy. we are not yet out of Site of Mount Hood which is cov[d] with Snow. Saw a great many Sea otter in the River we went 28 miles to day and Camped after dark on the Starbord Side. the Swan and geese are verry pleanty on the River brants also.

Tuesday 5th Nov. 1805.

began to rain abt one oClock last night and rained untill morn. the morning cloudy. we Set out eairly and proceeded on verry well the River verry Strait passd Islands as usal abot 10 miles [MS. torn] the largest village we have [MS. torn] the S. Side. the cabbens [MS. torn] they had a great no[mber] [MS. torn] Some of them got in their [canoes and] came out in the River to See us. they wanted to trade us Elk Skins for muskets. we proceeded on 20 miles Since we Started this mornG and halted about 1 oC. to dine on an Isl Several men went out a Short time to hunt, and killed one Swan and Several brants. we then proceeded on. passed one or 2 more villages had Several Small Showers of rain the Isld continues all the way covd with cotton timber. the bottoms cont as usal. we went 31 miles to day and Camped on the Lard Side where the pine hills make close to the River. and Some clifts of rocks on L. Shore. the River about a mile wide. this evening rainy.

Wednesday 6th Nov. 1805.

Several Showers of rain in the course of last night. the guard had to attend to the canoes to keep them loose as the tide Ebbs & flows abt 3 feet pertular. a cloudy wet morning. we Set out eairly and proceeded on. Shortly passed a Small village on Lard Side. Some Indians came out in the River to us with their canoes. we bought Some fresh fish from them, and bought Some fine roots from a canoe which was going down the R. with a load trading. at noon we halted to dine at a large bottom which was covd with cotton timber on the S. Side. Several hunters went out abt one hour and the under brush So thick that they could not go any distance back. we proceeded on. passed high clifts on L. S. abt 100 feet from the S[urface of] the water. the hills on each Side are [covered with] different kinds of pine.

[DISTANCES AND LATITUDES][1]

Remarks of Different places.

Lat[d] of the Gasnage [Gasconade]	38°, 15′, 57″ N
D[o] " " Granzoe [Grand Osage]	39°, 16′, 23″ N
D[o] Rock pole [Split Rock]	38°, 16′, 00″ N
D[o] the two Charottoes	38°, 19′, 00″ N
D[o] Decaugh [Kansas]	38°, 31′, 13″ N
River platt	41°, 3′, 19–3/4″ N
Camp of the Brareow on Councel Bluffs	41°, 17′, 00″[2]

From River Duboice to S[t] Charles	21	Miles	by	water
" Gasconade	104	"	"	"
Unto the Osage River	138	"	"	"
" Mine River	201	"	"	"
" 2 Charottoes Rivers	226	"	"	"
" Old Villag of Missuries	246	"	"	"
" Grand River	254	"	"	"
" Kanzus River	366	"	"	"
" 2[nd] Old Village of Kanzeis	433	"	"	"
" Nadoway River	481	"	"	"
" Grand Na,mahaw R	511	"	"	"
" Bald pated prarie	570	"	"	"
" Mouth of Plate River	632	"	"	"
" Councel Bluffs	682	"	"	"
" Little Seeoux River	766	"	"	"
" Mahars Village	870	"	"	"
" The Mouth of the Big Souix river	880	"		
" the Mouth of the river Jacque	970	Miles		
" Grand Calimet Bluffs	980	"		
" the River of rapid water	1020	"		
" Ceeder Island	1090	"		
" River White	1142	"		
" the Island in the Big bend or Grand Detorture of the Missourie River	1183	"		

[1] The following entries are found on the last pages of the first portion of Whitehouse's journal, and are partly in handwriting No. 1, and partly in that of No. 2. — Ed.

[2] These do not, save the last one, correspond with similar latitudes as given in the text of the journal. — Ed.

Unto Round the Bend 30 miles	1203 Miles
" the ceeder Island above the Big Bend . .	1235 "
" the Mouth of the Teton River	1275 "
" the 1st Village of Rickarees	1480 "
" Mouth of the river Bullette [Cannon Ball] .	1505 "
" River Chiss-Chetar above the old Village of Mandans	1550 "
" Fort Mandans on the N. Side	1600 1/2 Miles.[1]

Lat[it]udes of the Different Remarkable places on the Missourie River.

of St Charles	38°, 54′, 39″ N
Gasconade	38°, 44′, 35″ N
Mo. of the Osarge River	38°, 31′, 6″
mo. of the Grand River	38°, 47′, 54 9/10
mo. of the Kanzeis River	39°, 5′, 25″
12[½] ms above dimond Isl	39°, 9′, 38″
3 m. b[e]low the 2nd Old Village of Kanzeis . .	39°, 25′, 42″
mo. of the Nordaway	39°, 39′, 22″
mo of the Namahaw	39°, 55′, 56″
Good Isld	40°, 20′, 12″
Bald Pated Praire	40°, 27′, 6″
White Catfish Camp	41°, 3′, 19″
Council Bluff	41°, 17′, 00″
Mo. of Stone River or the little Seoux	41°, 42′, 34″
On the South Side Whare the late King of the Mahars [was buried]	42°, 1′, 3″ N
Fish Camp Neer the Mahars Village Augst 14th 1804	42°, 13′, 41″
Septmb 1 Calimet Bluffs opsite the Sues Lodges whare we met the Nation of the Sues	42°, 53′, 13″
Ceeder Island Louisells Fort	44°, 11′, 33″
the Mouth of the Chien River	44°, 19′, 36″
Mouth of the Water-hoo River	45°, 39′, 5″
the Mouth of the River bullette	46°, 29′, 00″
Fort Mandans on N. Side	47°, 21′, 00″
at the forks of Mariah	47°, 24′, 12″.

[1] The preceding estimates are nearly all larger than those given by Clark; whether or not they are based on independent data, is unknown. — ED.

Appendix to the Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

I

JEFFERSON SUGGESTS TRANSCONTINENTAL EXPEDITION TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, 1783[1]

[From original MS. in library of Wisconsin Historical Society — Draper MSS., 52J93.]

ANNAPOLIS, Dec. 4. 1783.

DEAR SIR: I received here about a week ago your obliging letter of Oct. 12. 1783 with the shells & seeds for which I return you many thanks. you are also so kind as to keep alive the hope of getting for me as many of the different species of bones, teeth & tusks of the Mammoth as can now be found. this will be most acceptable. Pittsburg & Philadelphia or Winchester will be the surest channel of conveyance: I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Missisipi to California. they pretend it is only to promote knolege I am afraid they have thoughts of colonising into that quarter. some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making the attempt to search that country. but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. how would you like to lead such a party? tho I am afraid our prospect is not worth asking the question. the definitive treaty of peace is at length arrived. it is not altered from the preliminaries. the cession of the territory West of Ohio to the United States has been at length accepted by Congress, with some small alterations of the conditions. we are in daily expectation of receiving it with the final approbation of Virginia. Congress have been lately agitated by questions where they should fix their residence. they first resolved on Trentown. the Southern states however contrived to get a vote that they would give half their time to Georgetown at the Falls of Patowmac. still we consider the matter as

[1] This letter was enclosed in one written by Jefferson to John Marshall, of even date, in which he asked the latter, then a member of the state executive council, to deliver the enclosure to General Clark, who was at that time in Williamsburg pushing his claim for reimbursement for expenses incurred in his celebrated campaign against Vincennes. Marshall replied to Jefferson under date of December 12, to the effect that "I yesterday deliver'd the letter to Gen[l] Clarke." The original of Marshall's letter is also in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. — ED.

undecided between the Delaware & Patowmac. we urge the latter as the only point of union which can cement us to our Western friends when they shall be formed into separate states. I shall always be happy to hear from you and am with very particular esteem D[r] Sir Your friend & humble Serv[t]

TH: JEFFERSON

[Superscription] Gen! George Rogers Clarke
[Endorsed by a contemporary hand] M[r] Jefferson 1783 Mammoth Bones
[Endorsed by L. C. Draper] Gov. Jefferson Dec. 4 — 1783. Mammoth Bones. A western exploration mentioned & Clark suggested to lead it. Final Treaty of Peace Future seat of Gov[t]

II

JOHN LEDYARD'S FRUSTRATED EXPEDITION, 1786

[From Jefferson's Autobiography, in Ford's *Writings of Jefferson* (N. Y., 1892–99), i, pp. 94–96.]

In 1786 while at Paris I became acquainted with John Ledyard of Connecticut, a man of genius, of some science, and of fearless courage, & enterprise. He had accompanied Capt Cook in his voyage to the Pacific, had distinguished himself on several occasions by an unrivalled intrepidity, and published an account of that voyage with details unfavorable to Cook's deportment towards the savages, and lessening our regrets at his fate. Ledyard had come to Paris in the hope of forming a company to engage in the fur trade of the Western coast of America. He was disappointed in this, and being out of business, and of a roaming, restless character, I suggested to him the enterprise of exploring the Western part of our continent, by passing thro St. Petersburg to Kamschatka, and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to America; and I undertook to have the permission of the Empress of Russia solicited. He eagerly embraced the proposition, and M. de Sémoulin, the Russian Ambassador, and more particularly Baron Grimm the special correspondent of the Empress, solicited her permission for him to pass thro' her dominions to the Western coast of America. And here I must correct a material error which I have committed in another place to the prejudice of the Empress. In writing some Notes of the life of Capt Lewis, prefixed to his expedition to the Pacific, I stated that the Empress gave the permission asked, & afterwards retracted it. This idea, after a lapse of 26 years, had so insinuated itself into my mind, that I committed it to paper without the least suspicion of error. Yet I find, on recurring to my letters of that date that the Empress refused permission at once, considering the enterprise as entirely chimerical. But Ledyard would not relinquish it, persuading himself that by proceeding to St. Petersburg he could satisfy the Empress of it's practicability and obtain her permission, He went accordingly, but she was absent on a visit to some distant part of her dominions, and

he pursued his course to within 200 miles of Kamschatka, where he was overtaken by an arrest from the Empress, brought back to Poland, and there dismissed. I must therefore in justice acquit the Empress of ever having for a moment countenanced, even by the indulgence of an innocent passage thro' her territories this interesting enterprise.

[Extract from letter of Jefferson to Ezra Stiles,[1] dated Paris, Sept. 1, 1786. — Ford, iv, pp. 298, 299.]

A countryman of yours, a Mr. Lediard, who was with Capt. Cook on his last voiage, proposes either to go to Kamschatka, cross from thence to the Western side of America, and penetrate through the Continent to our side of it, or to go to Kentucke, & thence penetrate Westwardly to the South sea, the vent [he went] from hence lately to London, where if he finds a passage to Kamschatka or the Western coast of America, he would avail himself of it: otherwise he proposes to return to our side of America to attempt that route. I think him well educated for such an enterprise, & wish he may undertake it.

[Extract from letter of Jefferson to Charles Thomson,[2] dated Paris, Sept. 20, 1787.— Ford, iv, pp. 447, 448.]

There is an American of the name of Ledyard, he who was with Captain Cook on his last voyage & wrote an account of that voyage, who is go to St. Petersburg, from thence he was to go to Kamschatka, to cross over thence to the northwest coast of America, & to penetrate through the main continent to our side of it. He is a person of ingenuity & information. Unfortunately he has too much imagination. However, if he escapes safely, he will give us new, curious, & useful information. I had a letter from him dated last March, when he was about to leave St. Petersburg on his way to Kamschatka.

[Extract from letter of Jefferson to William Carmichael,[3] dated Paris, March 4, 1789. — Ford, v, p. 75.]

My last accounts from Lediard (another bold countryman of ours)[4] were from Grand Cairo. He was just then plunging into the unknown

[1] President of Yale College, scientist and literary man. He was the first in New England to experiment with electricity. — ED.

[2] Secretary of Continental Congress. — ED.

[3] Chargé d'affaires at Madrid. — ED.

[4] The writer had just been referring to Admiral Paul Jones. — ED.

regions of Africa, probably never to emerge again. If he returns, he has promised me to go to America and penetrate from Kentucke to the Western side of the Continent. I do not know whether you are informed that in the years 1787–1788, he went from here bound for Kamschatka, to cross over thence to the Western coast of our continent & pass through to the Eastern one. He was arrested par ordre superieure within two or three days journeys of Kamschatka, conveyed back to the confines of Poland, & there turned adrift. He arrived here last June, & immediately set out for Africa.

III

JOHN ARMSTRONG'S EXPEDITION, 1790[1]

[Letter of General Henry Knox, secretary of war, to General Josiah Harmar, commanding on the Western frontier. From transcript by L. C. Draper, in library of Wisconsin Historical Society — Draper MSS., 2W133.]

(Secret) WAR OFFICE, 20th Dec. 1789.

DEAR SIR: The subject I about stating must be retained by you as a profound secret, and I depend on your honor not to communicate thereon now or hereafter, excepting with the Governor of the Western Territory[2] whom I shall refer to you.

It is important that the official information of all the Western regions should be as precise and as extensive as the nature of things will admit. You will therefore exercise your mind in obtaining such information. Devise some practicable plan for exploring the branch of the Mississippi

[1] Captain John Armstrong, selected by General Harmar to conduct this expedition, was born in New Jersey. Having served with distinction as a commissioned officer in the Revolutionary War, he was continued in the regular service upon the Western frontier, where he won a wide reputation as woodsman and explorer. In 1784 he commanded at Wyoming, in 1785–86 at Fort Pitt, and 1786–1790 at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville). From the letters here given, it would be inferred that although Armstrong was detailed for the expedition ordered by General Knox, the journey itself was not undertaken. It is stated, however, in an apparently careful biography of Armstrong, in Cist's *Cincinnati Miscellany* (1845), i, p. 40, that he started upon his tour in the spring of 1790, "and proceeded up the Missouri some distance above St. Louis, *not with an army to deter the savages, nor yet an escort, but entirely alone!* It was his intention to examine the country of the upper Missouri, and cross the Rocky Mountains — but, meeting with some French traders, was persuaded to return in consequence of the hostility of the Missouri bands to each other, as they were then at war, that he could not safely pass from one nation to another." This is confirmed by Harmar's letter to Knox, dated Fort Washington, March 24, 1790, (in *Memoirs* of Penna. Historical Society, vii, p. 454), wherein he says: "I have . . . detatched Lieutenant Armstrong to undertake the business recommended in your secret letters." On returning to Vincennes, Armstrong immediately thereafter, with an escort of two friendly Indians, carefully explored the Wabash and its communications with Lake Erie. Armstrong made other important military explorations, and resigned from the army in 1793. He served as treasurer of the Northwest Territory, and later as a local magistrate; dying in Clark County, Indiana, February 4, 1816.

[2] General Arthur St. Clair.

called the Messouri, up to its source and all its Southern branches, and tracing particularly the distance between the said branches and any of the navigable streams that run into the Great North River which empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico. In order that you may better comprehend my idea, I send you a map of the said river and its conjectural relation to the Messouri.

You will easily see that this object cannot be undertaken with the sanction of public authority. An enterprising officer with a non-commissioned officer well acquainted with living in the woods, & perfectly capable of describing rivers and countries, accompanied by four or five hardy Indians perfectly attached to the United States, would, in my opinion be the best mode of obtaining the information requested. Could you engage two such parties, and send them off at different periods of one or two months distance from each other, it is highly probable that one if not both would succeed & return. I am not authorized to make any stipulations on this subject, but I pledge myself unequivocally that if the parties should succeed, that I will exert myself to the utmost that they shall not only be satisfactorily, but liberally rewarded, on their return. Endeavor therefore by all means to find suitable characters for this hardy enterprise, & having found them despatch them as soon as possible. I say nothing about their equipments or the manner of their being furnished, leaving that to your & the Governor's judgment, & those to whom you may confide the direction of the enterprize. Pocket compasses would be necessary to their success, & pencils & paper to assist their remarks.

Were it practicable to make the operation with canoes, it would be most satisfactory.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,

Your most humble servant,

Gen'l. Harmar. H. KNOX.

[Extract from Letter of Secretary Knox, dated War Office, 16th January, 1790, to General Harmar. From transcript by L. C. Draper, in library of Wisconsin Historical Society — Draper MSS., 2W177.]

(Private)

SIR: In addition to my letter to you on the subject of exploring the country & waters on which you were to consult the Governor of the Western Territory, that the party employed on that business should be habited like Indians, in all respects, and on *no pretence whatever* discover any connection with the troops. Of course they will not take any written orders with them.

[Letter of General Harmar to General Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory. From Smith's *St. Clair Papers*, ii, p. 133.]

FORT WASHINGTON, February 20, 1790.

DEAR SIR: I have had the honor of receiving your letter from Fort Steuben, dated the 26th ult., and observe that your detention so long there was occasioned for want of provisions. We have been upon the point of starvation here ever since my arrival. I have no great opinion of Major Doughty's mission,[1] and another is on foot which I think to be really difficult and hazardous. The copy of the secret letter sent me from the War Office I do not think proper to commit to paper, for fear of accident, but Lieutenant Armstrong (whom I have ordered to undertake the tour, if possible) can fully inform you the nature of the business, as the contents of the letter have been communicated to him, and he has taken notes in such manner as to be able to give you an exact copy of it. I have written to the War Office that I wished very much to have your Excellency's opinion upon this subject before I ordered the officer to proceed. I must, therefore, beg that you will be pleased to give it. It seems very much depends on the too adventurous establishment. If your Excellency should be of opinion that it is advisable for him to undertake it, be so kind as to afford him your advice and assistance upon the occasion, as it is impossible for me, at this distance, to make the necessary arrangements for that purpose. This is the subject that the Secretary of War has written you that we were to consult about. Mrs. Harmar desires to be remembered most affectionately to you and Major Sargent.

[Extract from letter of Governor St. Clair to Secretary of War Knox, dated Cahokia, May 1, 1790. From *St. Clair Papers*, 11, p. 138.]

Mr. Armstrong has been here for some time, in consequence of your communications to General Harmar, who made me acquainted with them by him. It is, sir, I believe, at present, altogether impracticable. It is a point on which some people are feelingly alive all over, and all their jealousy awake. Indians to be confided in, there are none; and if there were, those who would be most proper, and others, are now at war; but I have explained myself to Captain Armstrong for General Harmar's imformation, who will communicate it to you from a place whence there is less risk of dispatches miscarrying.

[1] Up the Tennessee River. — ED.

[Extract from letter of Governor St. Clair to General Harmar. From *St. Clair Papers*, ii, p. 144.]

CAHOKIA, May [no date], 1790.

SIR: I had the honor to receive your communications by Captain Armstrong, and have given him my opinion upon the subject; that it is, at present at least, impracticable, for the reasons which he will inform you of, as I think it best not to say any thing about it in writing.

IV

ANDRÉ MICHAUX'S PROPOSED EXPEDITION, 1793

Jefferson's Instructions to André Michaux for exploring the Western Boundary.

[From Ford, vi, pp. 158–161.]

[January, 1793]

SUNDRY persons having subscribed certain sums of money for your encouragement to explore the country along the Missouri, and thence westwardly to the Pacific ocean, having submitted the plan of the enterprise to the directors of the American Philosophical society, and the society having accepted of the trust, they proceeded to give you the following instructions:

They observe to you that the chief objects of your journey are to find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the United States and the Pacific ocean, within the temperate latitudes, and to learn such particulars as can be obtained of the country through which it passes, its productions, inhabitants, and other interesting circumstances. As a channel of communication between these States and the Pacific ocean, the Missouri, so far as it extends, presents itself under circumstances of unquestioned preference. It has, therefore, been declared as a fundamental object of the subscription (not to be dispensed with) that this river shall be considered and explored as a part of the communication sought for. To the neighborhood of this river, therefore, that is to say, to the town of Kaskaskia, the society will procure you a conveyance in company with the Indians of that town now in Philadelphia.

From thence you will cross the Mississippi and pass by land to the nearest part of the Missouri above the Spanish settlements, that you may avoid the risk of being stopped.

You will then pursue such of the largest streams of that river as shall lead by the shortest way and the lowest latitudes to the Pacific ocean. When, pursuing those streams, you shall find yourself at the point from whence you may get by the shortest and most convenient route to some principal river of the Pacific ocean, you are to proceed to such river and pursue its course to the ocean. It would seem by the latest maps as if

a river called Oregon, interlocked with the Missouri for a considerable distance, and entered the Pacific ocean not far southward of Nootka Sound. But the society are aware that these maps are not to be trusted so far as to be the ground of any positive instruction to you. They therefore only mention the fact, leaving to yourself to verify it, or to follow such other as you shall find to be the real truth.

You will in the course of your journey, take notice of the country you pass through, its general face, soil, rivers, mountains, its productions — animal, vegetable, and mineral — so far as they may be new to us, and may also be useful or very curious; the latitude of places or material for calculating it by such simple methods as your situation may admit you to practice, the names, members, and dwellings of the inhabitants, and such particulars, as you can learn of their history, connection with each other, languages, manners, state of society, and of the arts and commerce among them.

Under the head of animal history, that of the mammoth is particularly recommended to your inquiries, as it is also to learn whether the Lama or Paca of Peru, is found in those parts of this continent, or how far north they come.

The method of preserving your observations is left to yourself according to the means which shall be in your power. It is only suggested that the noting them on the skin might be best for such as may be the most important, and that further details may be committed to the bark of the paper-birch, a substance which may not excite suspicions among the Indians, and little liable to injury from wet or other common accidents. By the means of the same substance you may perhaps find opportunities, from time to time of communicating to the society information of your progress, and of the particulars you shall have noted.

When you shall have reached the Pacific ocean, if you find yourself within convenient distance of any settlement of Europeans, go to them, commit to writing a narrative of your journey and observations, and take the best measure you can for conveying it thence to the society by sea.

Return by the same, or some other route, as you shall think likely to fulfil with most satisfaction and certainty the objects of your mission, furnishing yourself with the best proofs the nature of the case will admit of the reality and extent of your progress, whether this shall be by certificates from Europeans settled on the western coast of America, or by what other means, must depend on circumstances. Ignorance of the country through which you are to pass, and confidence in your judgement, zeal, and discretion, prevent the society from attempting more minute instructions, and even from exacting rigorous observance of

those already given, except, indeed, what is the first of all objects, that you seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific ocean.

It is strongly recommended to you to expose yourself in no case to unnecessary dangers, whether such as might affect your health or your personal safety, and to consider this not merely as your personal concern, but as the injunction of science in general, which expects its enlargement from your inquiries, to whom your report will open new fields and subjects of commerce, intercourse, and observation.

If you reach the Pacific ocean and return, the society assign to you all the benefits of the subscription before mentioned. If you reach the waters only that run into that ocean, the society reserve to themselves the apportionment of the reward according to the conditions expressed in the subscription. If you do not reach even those waters they refuse all reward, and reclaim the money you may have received here under the subscription.

They will expect you to return to the city of Philadelphia to give in to them a full narrative of your journey and observations, and to answer the inquiries they shall make of you, still reserving to yourself the benefit arising from the publication of such parts of them as are in the said subscription reserved to you.

Synopsis of Proceedings of American Philosophical Society, in the matter of Michaux's Expedition.

April 19, 1793 — Society votes to solicit subscriptions "to enable Andrew Michaux to make discoveries in the Western Country."

April 30, 1793 — "Resolved, That the President be requested to pay to M[r] Michaux, such sum of the subscription as he hath or may receive; — not exceeding 400 dollars."

Dec. 16, 1796. The Michaux Committee reported that "M[r] Michaux's proposed plan . . . . had failed."

Feb. 1, 1799 — Treasurer instructed "to call on the Executors of David Rittenhouse & receive from them the Sums contributed, and placed in his hands, towards aiding the expedition of M[r] Micheau."

Committee appointed "to report the proceedings which have been had with respect to the sums received on account of M[r] Micheau's Expedition, and their opinion on the proper measures to be pursued thereon.— Collin, Peale, Wistar."

May 17, 1799 — "A letter was received from the Treasurer satisfy-

ing the enquiry made in the minutes of 1st Feb. relative to a certain sum of money left in the hands of Mr. Rittenhouse."

April 4, 1800.—"Dr. Collin presented a Statement of sums received by him for the Society, to aid Mr. Micheau's projected expedition some years since; received previously to 25th April 1793, viz. Alex. Hamilton $12.50; Geo. Washington $25; John Vaughan $12.50; Walter Stewart, John Ross, J. B. Bordley, each $5; Wm. White $2.50; Robert Morris $20; Ewing, S. Powell, McConnell, Nixon, each $2.50; S. Coats, $2.25; B. Bache, Jared Ingersol, M. Clarkson, J. Dorsey, each $2; R. Blackwell, N. Collin, each $4; Thos. Jefferson $12.50.—Total $128.25."

V

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S SECRET MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, 1803

[From Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897* (Washington, 1896–99), i, pp. 352–354.]

January 18, 1803.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives: As the continuance of the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes will be under the consideration of the Legislature at its present session, I think it my duty to communicate the views which have guided me in the execution of that act, in order that you may decide on the policy of continuing it in the present or any other form, or discontinue it altogether if that shall, on the whole, seem most for the public good.

The Indian tribes residing within the limits of the United States have for a considerable time been growing more and more uneasy at the constant diminution of the territory they occupy, although effected by their own voluntary sales, and the policy has long been gaining strength with them of refusing absolutely all further sale on any conditions, insomuch that at this time it hazards their friendship and excites dangerous jealousies and perturbations in their minds to make any overture for the purchase of the smallest portions of their land. A very few tribes only are not yet obstinately in these dispositions. In order peaceable to counteract this policy of theirs and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for, two measures are deemed expedient. First. To encourage them to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising stock, to agriculture, and domestic manufacture, and thereby prove to themselves that less land and labor will maintain them in this better than in their former mode of living. The extensive forests necessary in the hunting life will then become useless, and they will see advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms and of increasing their domestic comforts. Secondly. To multiply trading houses among them, and place within their reach those

things which will contribute more to their domestic comfort than the possession of extensive but uncultivated wilds. Experience and reflection will develop to them the wisdom of exchanging what they can spare and we want for what we can spare and they want. In leading them thus to agriculture, to manufactures, and civilization; in bringing together their and our sentiments, and in preparing them ultimately to participate in the benefits of our Government, I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good. At these trading houses we have pursued the principles of the act of Congress which directs that the commerce shall be carried on liberally, and requires only that the capital stock shall not be diminished. We consequently undersell private traders, foreign and domestic, drive them from the competition, and thus, with the good will of the Indians, rid ourselves of a description of men who are constantly endeavoring to excite in the Indian mind suspicions, fears, and irritations toward us. A letter now enclosed shows the effect of our competition on the operations of the traders, while the Indians, perceiving the advantage of purchasing from us, are soliciting generally our establishment of trading houses among them. In one quarter this is particularly interesting. The Legislature, reflecting on the late occurrences on the Mississippi, must be sensible how desirable it is to possess a respectable breadth of country on that river, from our southern limit to the Illinois, at least, so that we may present as firm a front on that as on our eastern border. We possess what is below the Yazoo, and can probably acquire a certain breadth from the Illinois and Wabash to the Ohio; but between the Ohio and Yazoo the country all belongs to the Chickasaws, the most friendly tribe within our limits, but the most decided against the alienation of lands. The portion of their country most important for us is exactly that which they do not inhabit. Their settlements are not on the Mississippi, but in the interior country. They have lately shown a desire to become agricultural, and this leads to the desire of buying implements and comforts. In the strengthening and gratifying of these wants I see the only prospect of planting on the Mississippi itself the means of its own safety. Duty has required me to submit these views to the judgement of the Legislature, but as their disclosure might embarrass and defeat their effect, they are committed to the special confidence of the two Houses.

While the extension of the public commerce among the Indian tribes may deprive of that source of profit such of our citizens as are engaged in it, it might be worthy the attention of Congress in their care of individual as well as of the general interest to point in another direction

the enterprise of these citizens, as profitably for themselves and more usefully for the public. The river Missouri and the Indians inhabiting it are not as well known as is rendered desirable by their connection with the Mississippi, and consequently with us. It is, however, understood that the country on that river is inhabited by numerous tribes, who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude through an infinite number of portages and lakes shut up by ice through a long season. The commerce on that line could bear no competition with that of the Missouri, traversing a moderate climate, offering, according to the best accounts, a continued navigation from its source, and possibly with a single portage from the Western Ocean, and finding to the Atlantic a choice of channels through the Illinois or Wabash, the Lakes and Hudson, through the Ohio and Susquehanna, or Potomac or James rivers, and through the Tennessee and Savannah rivers. An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms and accouterments, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on whether here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery, and for other literary purposes, in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe to the same object, as well as to its own interests, to explore this the only line of easy communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own part of it. The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent can not but be an additional gratification. The nation claiming the territory, regarding this as a literary pursuit, which it is in the habit of permitting within its dominions, would not be disposed to view it with jealousy, even if the expiring state of its interests there did not render it a matter of indifference. The appropriation of $2,500 "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States,"

while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way.

TH: JEFFERSON.

VI

LEWIS'S ESTIMATE OF EXPENSES, 1803

[From Lewis's original MS. in Bureau of Rolls, Department of Interior — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 96*a*. Between Docs. 97 and 98 is a list of supplies, also a copy of the cipher to be used: key, "Artichoke."]

RECAPITULATION of an estimate of the sum necessary to carry into effort the Miss[ie] expedicion ——

Mathematical Instruments	$ 217
Arms & Accoutrements extraordinary	" 81
Camp Ecquipage	" 255
Medecine & packing	" 55
Means of transportation	" 430
Indian presents	" 696
Provisions extraordinary	" 224
Materials for making up the various articles into portable packs	" 55
For the pay of hunters guides & Interpreters	" 300
In silver coin to defray the expences of the party from Nashville to the last white settlement on the Missisourie	" 100
Contingencies	" 87
	$2,500

VII

JEFFERSON TO DR. BENJAMIN RUSH[1]

[Extract — from Ford, viii, p. 219.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1803.

DEAR SIR: I wish to mention to you in confidence that I have obtained authority from Congress to undertake the long desired object of exploring the Missouri & whatever river, heading with that, leads into the western ocean. About 10. chosen woodsmen headed by Capt. Lewis my secretary will set out on it immediately & probably accomplish it in two seasons. Capt. Lewis is brave, prudent, habituated to the woods, & familiar with Indian manners and character. He is not regularly educated, but he possesses a great mass of accurate observation on all the subjects of nature which present themselves here, & will therefore readily select those only in his new route which shall be new. He has qualified himself for those observations of longitude & latitude necessary to fix the points of the line he will go over. It would be very useful to state for him those objects on which it is most desirable he should bring us information. For this purpose I ask the favor of you to prepare some notes of such particulars as may occur in his journey & which you think should draw his attention & enquiry He will be in Philadelphia about 2. or 3. weeks hence & will wait on you.

[1] A famous physician and scientist of Philadelphia; signer of the Declaration of Independence; one of the original members and later vice-president of the American Philosophical Society. — ED.

VIII

JEFFERSON TO DR. CASPAR WISTAR.

[Extract — from Ford, viii, p. 192.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1803.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed sheets may contain some details which perhaps may be thought interesting enough for the transactions of our society. They were forwarded to me by Mr. Dunbar with a couple of vocabularies which I retain to be added to my collection.

What follows is to be perfectly confidential. I have at length succeeded in procuring an essay to be made of exploring the Missouri & whatever river heading with that, runs into the western Ocean. Congress by a secret authority enables me to do it. A party of about 10. chosen men headed by an officer will immediately set out. We cannot in the U. S. find a person who to courage, prudence, habits & health adapted to the woods, & some familiarity with the Indian character, joins a perfect knowledge of botany, natural history, mineralogy & astronomy, all of which would be desirable. To the first qualifications Captain Lewis my secretary adds a great mass of accurate observation made on the different subjects of the three kingdoms as existing in these states, not under their scientific forms, but so as that he will readily seize whatever is new in the country he passes thro', and give us accounts of new things only; and he has qualified himself for fixing the longitude & latitude of the different points in the line he will go over. I have thought it would be useful to confine his attention to those objects only on which information is most deficient & most desirable: & therefore would thank you to make a note on paper of those which occur to you as most desirable for him to attend to. He will be in Philadelphia within two or three weeks & will call on you. Any advice or hints you can give him will be thankfully received & usefully applied. I presume he will compleate his tour there & back in two seasons. Accept assurances of my sincere esteem & high respect.

[1] A physician and scientist of Philadelphia, professor in the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, and vice-president of the American Philosophical Society. — ED.

IX

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 97.]

LANCASTER, Ap. 20th 1803.

WITH a view to forward as much as possible, the preparations which must necessarily be made in the Western country previous to my final departure, as also to prevent the delay, which would attatch to their being made after my arrival in that quarter, I have taken the following measures, which I hope will meet your approbation; they appear to me to be as complete as my present view of the subject will admit my making them, and I trust the result will prove as favorable as wished for.

I have writen triplicates to Mr John Conner accepting his service as an Interpreter; he is the young man I recollect mentioning to you as having proffered his services to accompany me: to him I have communicated the real extent and objects of my mission, but with strict injunctions to secresy. He is directed to bring with him two Indians, provided he can engage such as perfectly answer the description given him. I have informed him of the military posts at which I shall touch on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and the probable time of my arrival at each, leaving it discretionary with himself to meet me at either; in these letters are inclosed triplicates addressed to the Commandants of those posts, recommending Mr Conner to their good offices, and requesting for him every aid in their power to bestow, should he be in want of assistance to enable him to get forwad in due time. The circumstance of Mr Conner's residence being at the Delleware Town on White river, and distant of course from any post office, induced me to give these letters different conveyances, which I did by inclosing them by different mails to three gentlemen of my acquaintance in that country, two of whom, Capts McClelland & Hamilton, live within twenty seven miles of the town; they are requested, and I am confident will find the means of conveying the letters to him; the other with a similar request was inclosed to Capt Findley

of Cincinnati, in whose exertions tho' more distant, I have equal confidence.

I have also written to Majr Mac Rea, the Commandant of South West Point, and to several officers of my acquaintance who constitute that garrison, stating to them that my destination was up the Mississippi for the purpose of accomplishing the objects which we agreed on *as most proper to be declared publicly:* the qualifications of the men are mentioned, and they are requested to look out in time for such volunteers as will answer that description; the inducements for those persons engaging in this service were also stated. The garrison of South West Point must form my first resource for the scelection of my party, which I shall afterwards change as circumstances may seem to recommend; and with a view to this change, I have written in a similar manner to the officers commanding the posts of Massac, Kaskaskais and Illinois, the posts at which I shall touch previous to ascending the Missourie, and subsequent to my departure from S. W. Point. the men in every instance are to be engaged conditionally, or subject to my approval or otherwise.

I have also written to Dr Dickson, at Nashville, and requested him to contract in my behalf with some confidential boat-builder at that place, to prepare a boat for me as soon as possible, and to purchase a large light wooden canoe; for this purpose I inclosed the Dr 50 Dollars, which sum I did not concieve equal by any means to the purchase of the two vessels, but supposed it sufficient for the purchase of the canoe, and to answer also as a small advance to the boat-builder: a discription of these vessels was given. The objects of my mission are stated to him as beforementioned to the several officers.

I have also written to Genl Irwine of Philadelphia, requesting that he will have in a state of prepareation some articles which are necessary for me, and which will be most difficult to obtain, or may take the greatest length of time in their prepareation.

My detention at Harper's Ferry was unavoidable for one month, a period much greater than could reasonably have been calculated on: my greatest difficulty was the frame of the canoe, which could not be completed without my personal attention to such portion of it as would enable the workmen to understand the design perfectly; other inducements seemed with equal force to urge my waiting the issue of a full experiment, arising as well from a wish to incur no expence unnecessarily, as from an unwillingness to risk any calculation on the advantages of this canoe in which hereafter I might possibly be deceived; experiment was necessary also to determine it's demensions; I therefore

resolved to give it a fair trial, and accordingly prepared two sections of it with the same materials, of which they must of necessity be composed when completed for servise on my voyage; they were of two disciptions, the one curved, or in the shape necessary for the stem and stern, the other simicilindrical, or in the form of those sections which constitute the body of the canoe. The experiment and it's result wer as follows:

Dementions

Curved Section.	F.	I.	Simicilindrical Section.	F.	I.
Length of Keel from junction of section to commencement of curve	1	2	Length of Keel	4	6
Length of curve	4	5	Ditto Beam	4	10
Width of broad end	4	10	Debth of Hole	2	2
Debth of D° D°	2	2	Note. — The curve of the body of the canoe was formed by a suspended cord.		

Weight of the Materials.

Curved section.	lbs.	Simicilindrical Section.	lbs.
Iron	22	Iron	22
Hide	25	Hide	30
Wood	10	Wood	12
Bark	21	Bark	25
Total	78	Total	89

Competent to a

Burthen of 850 lbs. Burthen of . . . . 920 lbs.

Necessary to be transported by land

Iron and Hide of Curved Section	47		
Iron and Hide of Simicilindrical section	52		99 lbs.
Burthen of Curved Section	850		
D° D° Simicilindrical Section	920		1,770 lbs.

Thus the weight of this vessel competent to the burthen of 1,770 lbs. amounts to no more than 99 lbs. the bark and wood, when it becomes necessary to transport the vessel to any considerable distance, may be discarded; as those articles are readily obtained for the purposes of this canoe, at all seasons of the year, and in every quarter of the country, which is tolerably furnished with forest trees. When these sections were united they appeared to acquire an additional strength and

firmness, and I am confident that in cases of emergency they would be competent to 150 lbs more than the burthen already stated. Altho' the weight of the articles employed in the construction of a canoe on this plan, have considerably exceeded the estimate I had previously made, yet they do not weigh more than those which form a bark canoe of equal dementions, and in my opinion is much preferable to it in many respects: it is much stronger, will carry it's burthen with equal ease, and greater security; and when the Bark and wood are discarded, will be much lighter, and can be transported with more safety and ease. I was induced from the result of this experiment to direct the iron frame of the canoe to be completed.

My Rifles, Tomahawks & knives are preparing at Harper's Ferry, and are already in a state of forwardness that leaves me little doubt of their being in readiness in due time.

I arrived at this place yesterday, called on Mr Ellicot, and have this day commenced, under his direction, my observations &c., to perfect myself in the use and application of the instruments. Mr Ellicot is extremely friendly and attentive, and I am confident is disposed to render me every aid in his power: he thinks it will be necessary I should remain here ten or twelve days.

Being fully impressed with the necessity of seting out as early as possible, you may rest assured that not a moment shall be lost in making the necessary preparations. I still think it practicable to reach the mouth of the Missourie by the 1st of August.

I am Sir, with much esteem and regard Your Most Obt Servt

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

The President of the U. States.

X

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 116.]

WASHINGTON, Apr. 23, 1803.

DEAR SIR: I have not been able to hear anything of you since Mar. 7, till two or three days ago, Lieut Wilson told me you would leave Frederic the 18th inst. & that you had been detained till then at Harper's ferry, where Capt. Murray also told me he had seen you. I have no doubt you have used every possible exertion to get off, and therefore we have only to lament what cannot be helped, as the delay of a month now may lose a year in the end. will you be so good as to call on Doctr Bollman with my complements & pay him for some wine sent me? I suppose it will be about 12 Doll. but it must be whatever he says. I will also thank you to purchase for me a Leopard or tyger's skin, such as the covers of our saddles were cut out of. in North 3d street & North 4th street a few doors only from Market street there used to be a considerable furrier's store in each. at one of these it was that I saw a robe of what they called the Peruvian sheep, and I took to be of the Lama or Vigogna. it was made up of several skins and was of the price of 12 D. If there be such a thing there now, you can either observe & report it to me, or if you think it good (for I have almost forgot it) I would take it at once. Let me hear from you on your receipt of this, and inform me of your prospect of getting off. I have letters here from your friends in Albemarle. Accept my affectionate salutations.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt M. Lewis.

XI

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 111.]

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1803.

DEAR SIR: Your's of the 20th. from Lancaster was recieved the night before last. not having heard from you since the time of my leaving Washington I had written to you on the 2d. and lodged it in Philadelphia. you will therefore probably receive that & this together. I enclose you a copy of the rough draught of the instructions I have prepared for you, that you may have time to consider them & to propose any modifications which may occur to yourself as useful. your destination being known to mr. Patterson, Doctrs. Wister, Rush & Barton,[1] these instructions may be submitted to their perusal. a considerable portion of them being within the field of the Philosophical society, which once undertook the same mission,[2] I think it my duty to consult some of it's members, limiting the communication by the necessity of secrecy in a good degree. these gentlemen will suggest any additions they will think useful, as has been before asked of them. we have received information that Connor cultivates in the first degree the patronage of the British government; to which he values ours as only secondary. as it is possible however that his passion for this expedition may overrule that for the British, and as I do not see that the British agents will necessarily be disposed to counterwork us, I think Connor's qualifications make it desireable to engage him, and that the communication to him will be as useful, as it was certainly proper under our former impression of him. the idea that you are going to explore the

[1] Prominent scientists, and members of the American Philosophical Society. Robert Patterson was an Irish physician, and professor of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania. Lewis studied with him in preparation for his journey. Benjamin Smith Barton was a famous Philadelphia physician and naturalist, professor of botany and natural history at the College of Philadelphia. To him was entrusted the pubcation of the scientific results of the Lewis and Clark expedition, but he died before accomplishing this. — ED.

[2] Having reference to the projected Michaux expedition (1792–93). — ED.

Missisipi has been generally given out; it satisfies public curosity and masks sufficiently the real destination. I shall be glad to hear from you, as soon after your arrival at Philadelphia as you can form an idea when you will leave, & when be here. accept assurances of my constant & sincere affection.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt. M. Lewis.

XII

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 112.]

I THINK we spoke together of your carrying some *cast iron* corn mills to give to the Indians or to trade with them, as well as for your own use. lest however I should be mistaken, I mention them now. I make no doubt you have consulted with mr Ellicot [1] as to the best instruments to carry. I would wish that nothing that passed between us here should prevent your following his advice, which is certainly the best. Should a time-piece be requisite, it is possible mr. Arnold can furnish you one. neither Ellicot nor Garnet have given me their opinion on the substituting a meridian at land instead of observations of time, for ascertaining longitude by the lunar motions. I presume therefore it will not answer. accept my affectionate salutations.

WASHINGTON, Apr. 30, 1803.

[1] Andrew Ellicott, who instructed Lewis in scientific surveying and use of mathematical instruments, was a civil engineer of note in the early history of the United States. He made the first survey of the Niagara River in 1789, laid out the city of Washington, and in 1792 was appointed surveyor general of the United States. His most important work was surveying the boundary between the United States and Spain on the south, the results of which were published in 1803. — ED.

XIII

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 98.]

PHILADELPIA, May 14th 1803.

DEAR SIR: In your instructions to me you mention that the instruments for ascertaining by celestial observations the geography of the country through which I shall pass, *have been already provided:* I shall not therefore purchase any articles of that discription until I hear further from you on this subject. Will you be so good as to inform me what instruments have been provided? and where they are? it may be possible that some instrument has been omitted, which Mr. Patterson, Mr. Ellicott and those gentlemen to whom you have referred me in this place, may deem necessary for me, and if so the deficiency can be supplyed in time.

Mr. Patterson and Mr. Ellicott both disapprove of the Theodolite as applicable to my purposes; they think it a delicate instrument, difficult of transportation, and one that would be very liable to get out of order; they also state that in it's application to my observations for obtaining the Longitude, it would be liable to many objections, and to much more inacuracy than the Sextant. The instruments these gentlemen recommend, and which indeed they think indispensibly necessary, are, two Sextants, (one of which, must be constructed for the *back observation*), an artificial Horizon or two; a good Arnold's watch or Chronometer, a Surveyor's Compass with a ball and socket and two pole chain, and a set of plotting instruments. By means of the Sextant fixed for the back observations and an artificial Horizon also constructed for the purpose, the meridian altitude of the Sun may always be taken, altho it should even exceed eighty degrees: for this valuable problem I am indebted to Mr. Patterson.

As a perfect knolege of the time will be of the first importance in all my Astronomical observations, it is necessary that the time-keeper intended for this expedition should be put in the best possible order, it therefore Sir, one has been procured for me and you are not perfectly

assured of her being in good order, it would be best perhaps to send her to me by some safe hand (should any such conveyance offer in time); Mr. Voit could then clean her, and Mr. Ellicott has promised to regulate her, which, I believe he has the means of doing just now, more perfectly than it can be done anywhere else in the U. States.

I cannot yet say what day it will be in my power to leave this place. Your different orders have been attended to, and the result you shall have in a day or two.

I am Sir, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect

Your most Obt & very Humble Servt

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

The President of the U States.

XIV

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 113.]

WASHINGTON, May 16, 1803.

DEAR SIR: yours of the 14th is this moment recieved & I hasten to answer it by return of post, that no time may be lost. the copy of instructions sent you are only a rough draught for consideration.[1] They will not be signed or *dated* till your departure. presuming you would procure all the necessary instruments at Philadelphia, which is a principal object of your journey there, the instructions say that the necessary instruments '*have been* provided' which will be true when they receive their ultimate form, date & signature, tho' nothing was provided at the time of writing the rough draught. this will serve to correct the impression which has been misunderstood and to let you know you are relied on to provide every thing for yourself. with respect to the theodolite, I wish you to be governed entirely by the advice of mr Patterson & mr Ellicott: as also as to the time piece & whatever else they think best. mr Garnett told us he had some good ones still on hand; which I remind you of, lest you should not be able to get one in Philadelphia. Accept my affectionate salutations.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

[1] See *post*, document xviii. — ED.

XV

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls—Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 99.]

PHILADELPHIA, May 29th 1803.

DEAR SIR: I have at length so far succeeded in making the necessary preparations for my intended journey as to be enabled to fix on the sixth or seventh of June as the probable time of my departue for Washington. All the article have been either procured; or are in such state of forwardness in the hands of the workmen as to induce me to hope that my stay here after that period will be unnecessary; indeed it is probable I might set out by the middle of this week, was it not for a wish to attend Mr. Patterson a few days longer; this Mr. Patterson recommends; he has been extreemly obliging to me since my arrival here, but his avocations for the last ten days have been such, as rendered it impossible for him to afford me the benefit of his instructions; in the meantime I have employed myself in attending more immediately to the objects of my equipment, and am now more at leasure to pursue with effect the subjects to which, he may think proper to direct my attention.

Agreeably to your instructions the draught of your orders prepared for my government, has been submitted to Mr. Patterson, and to Drs. Rush Barton & Wister; they approve of them very highly: Dr. Rush has favored me with some abstract queries under the several heads of *Physical History*, *medicine*, *morals* and *religeon* of the Indians, which I have no doubt will be servicable in directing my inquiries among that people. Drs. Barton and Wister have each pomised to contribute in like manner any thing, which may suggest itself to them as being of any importance in furthering the objects of this expedition. Dr. Barton has sometimes flattered me with the pleasure of his company as far as the Illinois; this event would be extreemly pleasing to me for many reasons; I fear the Dr. will not carry this design into effect; he tells me that his health has been pretty good latterly, and that he is determined to travel in some direction two or three months during the ensuing summer and autumn.

I paid Mr. Dufief 74$ and Dr. Bolman 18$. I have also purchased a Vigogna blanket, of which I hope you will approve; it is about the

size of a common three point Blanket, the skins appear to be two thin for rough service, tho' it is a very pretty thing; it is the best I could find, the price was 10$. The Tiger's skin you requested I have not been able to procure, those I have seen appear to be too small for your purpose, perhaps they may be had in Baltimore if so, I will get one at that place The 2 pole chain & 2 pair of fleecy socks have also been procured. I recieved your watch this morning from Mr. Voigt, who tells me shee is well regulated and in perfect order. Mr. Whitney has not yet repared your sextant tho' it was put into his hands immediately on my arrival; he has promised however, after repeated applications, that it shall be ready tomorrow evening: he seemed unwilling to undertake the alteration you wished in the brass Sextant stand, I therefore declined having the alteration made: I was further induced to this resolution from the opinion of Mr. Ellicott, who thought that the ball and socket would be reather a disadvantage than otherwise, and that in every event he concieved the advantages of the ball and socket would not be equivalent to the expence attending the alteration.

I have writen again to Dr. Dickson at Nashville, from whom I have not yet heard on the subject of my boat and canoe. I have recieved an answer from Majr. MacRea, Comdt. at S. W. Point; his report is reather unfavorable to my wishes: he tells me out of twenty men who have volunteered their services to accompany me, not more than three or four do by any means possess the necessary qualifications for this expedition, or who answer the discription which I had given him; this however I must endeavour to remedy by taking with me from that place a sufficient number of the best of them to man my boat, and if possible scelect others of a better discription as I pass the Garrisons of Massac, Kaskaskais & Illinois.

You will receive herewith inclosed some sketches taken from Vancouver's survey of the Western Coast of North America; they were taken in a hasty manner, but I believe they will be found sufficiently accurate to be of service in composing the map, which Mr. Gallatin was so good as to promise he would have projected and compleated for me will you be so obliging Sir, as to mention to Mr. Gallatin, that I have not been able to procure Danvill's map. The maps attatched to Vancouver's voyage cannot be procured seperately from that work, which is both too costly, and too weighty, for me either to purchase or carry.

I have the honor to be with the most sincere esteem and attatchment

Your Obt. Servt.

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

The President of the U States.

XVI

LEWIS INVITES CLARK TO JOIN HIM

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

WASHINGTON, June 19th, 1803.

DEAR CLARK: Herewith inclosed you will receive the papers belonging to your brother Genl. Clark, which sometime since you requested me to procure and forward to you; pray excuse the delay which has taken place, it has really proceeded from causes which I could not control; Mr. Thompson Mason the gentleman in whose possession they were, is a member of the Virginia legislature, and was absent of course from his residence untill March, previous to his return I was compelled to leave this place on a matter of business, which has detained me in Lancaster & Philadelphia untill the day before yesterday and since my return having possessed myself of the papers I seize the first moment to forward them to you: In this claim I wish you success most sincerely.

From the long and uninterrupted friendship and confidence which has subsisted between us I feel no hesitation in making to you the following communication under the fulest impression that it will be held by you inviolably secret untill I see you, or you shall hear again from me.

During the last session of Congress a law was passed in conformity to a private message of the President of the United States, intiled "An Act making an appropriation for extending the external commerce of the United States." The object of this Act as understood by its framers was to give the sanction of the government to exploreing the interior of the continent of North America, or that part of it bordering on the Missourie & Columbia Rivers. This enterprise has been confided to me by the President, and in consequence since the begining of March I have been engaged in making the necessary preparations for the tour, these arrangements being now nearly completed, I shall set out for Pittsburgh (the intended point of embarcation) about the last of this month, and as soon after as from the state of the water you can reasonably expect me I shall be with you, say about the 10th of August.

To aid me in this enterprise I have the most ample and hearty support that the government can give in every possible shape. I am armed with the authority of the Government of the U. States for my protection, so far as its authority or influence extends; in addition to which, the further aid has been given me of liberal pasports from the Ministers both of France and England: I am instructed to select from any corps in the army a number of noncommissioned officers and privates not exceeding 12, who may be disposed voluntarily to enter into this service; and am also authorized to engage any other men not soldiers that I may think usefull in promoting the objects or success of this expedition. I am likewise furnished with letters of credit, and authorized to draw on the government for any sum necessary for the comfort of myself or party. To all the persons engaged in this service I am authorized to offer the following rewards by way of inducement — 1st the bounty (if not a soldier) but in both cases six months pay in advance; 2dly to discharge them from the service if they wish it, immediately on their return from the expedition giving them their arrears of pay clothing &c. & 3dly to secure to them a portion of land equal to that given by the United States to the officers and soldiers who served in the revolutionary army. This is a short view of means with which I am intrusted to carry this plan of the Government into effect. I will now give you a short sketch of my plan of operation: I shall embark at Pittsburgh with a party of recruits eight or nine in number, intended only to manage the boat and are not calculated on as a permanent part of my detatcment; when descending the Ohio it shall be my duty by enquiry to find out and engage some good hunters, stout, healthy, unmarried men, accustomed to the woods, and capable of bearing bodily fatigue in a pretty considerable degree: should any young men answering this description be found in your neighborhood I would thank you to give information of them on my arivall at the falls of the Ohio; and if possible learn the probability of their engaging in this service, this may be done perhaps by holding out the idea that the direction of this expedition is up the Mississippi to its source, and thence to the lake of the Woods, stating the probable period of absence at about 18 months; if they would engage themselves in a service of this discription there would be but little doubt that they would engage in the real design when it became necessary to make it known to them, which I should take care to do before I finaly engaged them: — The soldiers that will most probably answer this expedition best will be found in some of the companies stationed at Massac, Kaskaskias & Illinois: pardon this digression from the discription of my plan: it is

to descend the Ohio in a keeled boat of about ten tons burthen, from Pittsburgh to it's mouth, thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missourie, and up that river as far as it's navigation is practicable with a boat of this discription, there to prepare canoes of bark or raw-hides, and proceed to it's source, and if practicable pass over to the waters of the Columbia or Origan River and by descending it reach the Western Ocean; the mouth of this river lies about one hundred and forty miles South of Nootka-Sound, at which place there is a considerable European Tradeing establishment, and from which it will be easy to obtain a passage to the United States by way of the East-Indies in some of the trading vessels that visit Nootka Sound anually, provided it should be thought more expedient to do so, than to return by the rout I had pursued in my outward bound journey. The present season being already so far advanced, I do not calculate on geting further than two or three hundred miles up the Missourie before the commencement of the ensuing winter. At this point wherever it may be I shall make myself as comfortable as possible during the winter and resume my journey as early in the spring as the ice will permit: — should nothing take place to defeat my progress altogether I feel confident that my passage to the Western ocean can be effected by the end of the next Summer or the begining of Autumn. In order to subsist my party with some degree of comfort dureing the ensuing winter, I shall engage some French Traders at Illinois to attend me to my wintering ground with a sufficient quantity of flour, pork, &c. to serve them plentifully during the winter, and thus be enabled to set out in the Spring with a healthy and vigorous party. So much for the great outlines of this scheem, permit me now to mention partially the objects which it has in view or those which it is desirable to effect through it's means, and then conclude this lengthy communication. You must know in the first place that very sanguine expectations are at this time formed by our Government that the whole of that immense country wartered by the Mississippi and it's tributary streams, Missourie inclusive, will be the property of the U. States in less than 12 Months from this date: but here let me again impress you with the necessity of keeping this matter a perfect secret.[1] In such a state of things therefore as we have every

[1] Authentic information having been received at Washington, that France had secured possession of Louisiana from Spain, by a secret clause in the Treaty of San Ildefonso (October 30, 1800), President Jefferson sent word to the United States minister at Paris, Robert Livingston, to enter into negotiations with the French government, with a view of securing New Orleans and the territory of Louisiana east of the Mississippi. Early in 1803 the President sent James Monroe to France as a special ambassador charged with this mission. April 11, 1803, Talleyrand, then

reason to hope, you will readily concieve the importance to the U. States of an early friendly and intimate acquaintance with the tribes that inhabit that country, that they should be early impressed with a just idea of the rising importance of the U. States and of her friendly dispositions towards them, as also her desire to become usefull to them by furnishing them through her citizens with such articles by way of barter as may be desired by them or usefull to them. The other objects of this mission are scientific, and of course not less interesting to the U. States than to the world generally, such is the ascertaining by celestial observation the geography of the country through which I shall pass; the names of the nations who inhabit it, the extent and limitts of their several possessions, their relation with other tribes and nations; their language, traditions, and monuments; their ordinary occupations in fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for their food, clothing and domestic accomodation; the diseases prevalent among them and the remidies they use; the articles of commerce they may need, or furnish, and to what extent; the soil and face of the country; it's growth and vegetable productions, its animals; the miniral productions of every discription; and in short to collect the best possible information relative to whatever the country may afford as a tribute to general science.

My Instruments for celestial observation are an excellent set and my supply of Indian presents is sufficiently ample.

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minister of foreign affairs for the French Directory, asked Livingston what the United States would give for all of Louisiana. The latter replied that he had no authorization to treat for so vast a tract of territory; but that Monroe would soon arrive, and he would consult with him before making a definite reply. Monroe arrived the following day. April 13, Barbé-Marbois, French minister of finance, visited the American envoys, and opened negotiations for the cession of Louisiana. The treaty by which the province was transferred to the United States is dated April 30, 1803, although it was not actually signed until the second of May. The official letter of Monroe and Livingston to the Secretary of State, James Madison, was written May 13, and reached Washington on July 14. Rumors of the great purchase had, however, reached the United States at an earlier date, for June 30 the *Boston Chronicle* reported the cession as an accomplished fact. This private announcement made by Lewis to Clark, was, so far as our observation goes, the earliest mention of the Louisiana purchase in the United States, contained in any document or letter yet printed. Lewis was a confidential friend of the President's, having been his private secretary, and of course received his information from the latter; it was probable that he was the guest of the chief executive, at the time this letter was written. By June 25 Madison had received letters of as late a date as April 19, and, in a letter which has been preserved, considers the negotiations with France satisfactory — (Bureau of Rolls and Library, State Dept., *Calendar of Correspondence of James Monroe*, p. 143). — ED.

Thus my friend you have so far as leasure will at this time permit me to give it you, a summary view of the plan, the means and the objects of this expedition, if therefore there is anything under those circumstances, in this enterprise, which would induce you to participate with me in it's fatiegues, it's dangers and it's honors, believe me there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself; I make this communication to you with the privity of the President, who expresses an anxious wish that you would consent to join me in this enterprise; he has authorized me to say that in the event of your accepting this proposition he will grant you a Captain's commission which of course will intitle you to the pay and emoluments attached to that office and will equally with myself intitle you to such portion of land as was granted to offers of similar rank for their Revolutionary services; the commission with which he proposes to furnish you is not to be considered temporary but permanent if you wish it; your situation if joined with me in this mission will in all respects be precisely such as my own. Pray write to me on this subject as early as possible and direct to me at Pittsburgh. Should you feel disposed not to attatch yourself to this party in an official character, and at the same time feel a disposition to accompany me as a friend any part of the way up the Missourie I should be extremely happy in your company, and will furnish you with every aid for your return from any point you might wish it.

With sincere and affectionate regard your friend & Humbl. sevt.

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

XVII

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EQUIPMENT OF THE EXPEDITION

May–June, 1803 [1]

[No. 1]

Articles wanted by Capt. Lewis.

Mathematical Instruments

1 Hadley's Quadrant
1 Mariner's Compass & 2 pole chain
1 Sett of plotting instruments
3 Thermometers
1 Cheap portable Microscope
1 Pocket Compass
1 brass Scale one foot in length

[1] Government expeditions were, a century ago, outfitted by the "purveyor of public supplies" at Philadelphia. Such of the records as now remain, concerning the Lewis and Clark equipment — so far as our knowledge goes — are kept at the Schuylkill Arsenal, which is commanded by a depot quartermaster of the U. S. army. In March, 1904, at the instance of Secretary H. C. Powers, of the Sioux City (Iowa) Academy of Sciences and Letters, and Prof. E. C. Stacey, of Washington, who were seeking primarily for information concerning Lewis and Clark camps, search was made in these records, with the result that the six documents here given were unearthed. In the transmission of copies, Maj. John T. Knight, Q. M., wrote (March 17): "The foregoing comprises copies of all the papers which have been found pertaining to the expedition, except the bills for the purchases made by the purveyor. The items on these bills except medical supplies, are shown on the statement made by Mr. Whelan (marked No. 2)."

F. C. Ainsworth, chief of the Record and Pension Office of the U. S. War Department, wrote (March 2) in reply to inquiries from Professor Stacey relative to equipment: "Nothing has been found of record to show the character of the camping equipment taken by the Lewis and Clark Expedition up the Missouri River, or relative to the aid, if any, rendered the expedition by the Secretary of War, except that instructions were issued by the War Department July 2, 1803, to the end that the contractor's agent should put on Captain Lewis's boat proper provisions to carry him and his men to Massac, and that he be furnished with eighteen light axes." — Ed.

6 Magnetic needles in small straight silver or brass cases opening on the side with hinges.

1 Instrument for measuring made of tape with feet & inches marked on it, confined within a circular lethern box of sufficient thickness to admit the width of the tape which has one of its ends confined to an axis of metal passing through the center of the box, around which and within the box it is readily wound by means of a small crank on the outer side of the box which forms a part of the axis, the tape when necessary is drawn out with the same facility & ease with which it is wound up.

2 Hydrometers
1 Theodolite
1 Sett of planespheres
2 Artificial Horizons
1 Patent log
6 papers of Ink powder
4 Metal Pens brass or silver
1 Set of Small Slates & pencils
2 Creyons
Sealing wax one bundle
1 Miller's edition of Lineus in 2 Vol:
Books
Maps
Charts
Blank Vocabularies
Writing paper
1 Pair large brass money scales with two setts of weights the one of Troy the other of Averd^{s}

Arms & Accoutrements

15 Rifles
15 Powder Horns & pouches complete
15 Pairs of Bullet Moulds
15 d^{o} of Wipers or Gun worms
15 Ball Screws
24 Pipe Tomahawks
24 large knives
Extra parts of Locks & tools for repairing arms
15 Gun Slings
500 best Flints

Ammunition

200lbs Best rifle powder
400lbs Lead

Clothing

15 3 pt. Blankets
15 Match Coats with Hoods & belts
15 Woolen Overalls
15 Rifle Frocks of waterproof Cloth if possible
30 Pairs of Socks or half Stockings
20 Fatigue Frocks or hunting shirts
30 Shirts of Strong linnen
30 yds. Common flannel.

Camp Equipage

6 Copper kettles (1 of 5 Gallons, 1 of 3, 2 of 2, & 2 of 1)
25 falling Axes.
4 Drawing Knives, short & strong
2 Augers of the patent kind if they can be obtain'd with 6 bitts assorted, or otherwise 6 Augers of the common screw kind assorted
1 Small permanent Vice
1 Hand Vice
36 Gimblets assorted
24 Files do
12 Chisels do
10" Nails do
2 Steel plate hand saws
2 Vials of Phosforus
1 do of Phosforus made of allum & sugar
4 Groce fishing Hooks assorted
12 Bunches of Drum Line
2 Foot Adzes
12 Bunches of Small cord
2 Pick Axes
3 Coils of Rope
2 Spades
12 Bunches small fishing line assorted
1 lb Turkey or Oil Stone
1 Iron Mill for Grinding Corn
20 yds. Oil linnen for wrapping & securing Articles

10 yds d^{o} d^{o} of thicker quality for covering and lining boxes. &c
40 Yds D^{o} D^{o} To form two half faced Tents or Shelter's contrived in such manner their parts may be taken to pieces & again connected at pleasure in order to answer the several purposes of Tents, covering to Boat or Canoe, or if necessary to be used as sails. The pieces when unconnected will be 5 feet in Width and rather more than 14 feet in length
4 Tin blowing Trumpets
2 hand or spiral spring Steelyards
20 yds Strong Oznaburgs
24 Iron Spoons
24 Pint Tin Cups (without handles)
30 Steels for striking or making fire
100 Flints for d^{o} d^{o} d^{o}
2 Frows
6 Saddlers large Needles
6 D^{o} large Awls
Muscatoe Curtains
2 patent chamber lamps & wicks
15 Oil Cloth Bags for securing provision
1 Sea Grass Hammock

Provisions and Means of Subsistence

150 ^{lbs} Portable Soup.
3 bushels of Allum or Rock Salt
Spicies assorted
6 Kegs of 5 Gallons each making 30 Gallons of rectified spirits such as is used for the Indian trade
6 Kegs bound with iron Hoops

Indian Presents

5 ^{lbs} White Wampum
5 ^{lbs} White Glass Beads mostly small
20 ^{lbs} Red D^{o} D^{o} Assorted
5 ^{lbs} Yellow or Orange D^{o} D^{o} Assorted
30 Calico Shirts
12 Pieces of East India muslin Hanckerchiefs striped or check'd with brilliant Colours.
12 Red Silk Hanckerchiefs

144 Small cheap looking Glasses
100 Burning Glasses
4 Vials of Phosforus
288 Steels for striking fire
144 Small cheap Scizors
20 Pair large Dº
12 Groces Needles Assorted Nº 1 to 8 Common points
12 Groces Dº . Assorted with points for sewing leather
288 Common brass thimbles — part W. office
10 lbs Sewing Thread assorted
24 Hanks Sewing Silk
8 lbs Red lead
2 lbs Vermillion — at War Office
288 Knives Small such as are generally used for the Indian trade, with fix'd blades & handles inlaid with brass
36 Large knives
36 Pipe Tomahawks — at H. Ferry
12 lbs Brass wire Assorted
12 lbs Iron dº dº generally large
6 Belts of narrow Ribbons colours assorted
50 lbs Spun Tobacco.
20 Small falling axes to be obtained in Tennessee
40 fish Giggs such as the Indians use with a single barbed point — at Harper's ferry
3 Groce fishing Hooks assorted
4 Groce Mockerson awls assorted
50 lbs Powder secured in a Keg covered with oil Cloth
24 Belts of Worsted feiret or Gartering Colours brilliant and Assorted
15 Sheets of Copper Cut into strips of an inch in width & a foot long
20 Sheets of Tin
12 lbs Strips of Sheet iron 1 In. wide 1 foot long
1 Pc red Cloth second quality
1 Nest of 8 or 9 small copper kettles
100 Block-tin rings cheap kind ornamented with Coulour'd Glass or Mock-Stone
2 Groces of brass Curtain Rings & sufficently large for the Finger
1 Groce Cast Iron Combs
18 Cheap brass Combs

24 Blankets.
12 Arm Bands Silver at War Office
12 Wrist dº dº Dº
36 Ear Trinkets Dº part dº
36 Nose Dº Dº
6 Groces Drops of Dº part Dº
4 doz Rings for Fingers of dº
4 Groces Broaches of dº
12 Small Medals Dº

Means of Transportation

1 Keeled Boat light strong at least 60 feet in length her burthen equal to 8 Tons
1 Iron frame of Canoe 40 feet long
1 Large Wooden Canoe
12 Spikes for Setting-Poles
4 Boat Hooks & points Complete
2 Chains & Pad-Locks for confining the Boat & Canoes &c

Medicine

15 lbs best powder'd Bark
10 lbs Epsom or Glauber Salts
4 oz. Calomel
12 oz. Opium
½ oz. Tarter emetic
8 oz Borax
4 oz Powder'd Ipecacuana
8 oz Powder Jalap
8 oz Powderd Rhubarb
6 Best lancets.
2 oz White Vitriol
4 oz Lacteaum Saturni
4 Pewter Penis Syringes
1 Flour of Sulphur
3 Clyster pipes
4 oz Turlingtons Balsam
2 lbs Yellow Bascilicum
2 Sticks of Symple Diachylon
1 lb Blistering Ointments
2 lbs Nitre
2 lbs Coperas

Materials for making up the Various Articles into portable Packs.

30 Sheep skins taken off the Animal as perfectly whole as possible, without being split on the belly as usual and dress'd only with lime to free them from the wool; or otherwise about the same quantity of Oil Cloth bags well painted
Raw Hide for pack strings
Dress'd letter for Hoppers-Straps
Other packing

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1. Blue beads. This is a coarse cheap bead imported from China, & costing in England 15^{d} the lb^{s} in strands It is far more valued than the white beads of the same manufacture and answers all the purposes of money, being counted by the fathom.
2. Common brass buttons more valued than any thing except beads.
3. Knives, with fixed wooden handles stained red, usually called red handled knives & such as are used by the N. W. C^{o} in their Indian trade.
4. Battle axes, and Tomahawks.
5. Saddlers seat awls, which answer for mockasin awls
6. Glove's Needles.
7. Cast Iron combs.
8. Nests of camp kettles: brass is much preferr'd to Iron, tho both are very useful to the Indians size from 1 to 4 gallons

Each article to be weighed separate, and the weight & price extended in the Invoice under the appropriate Head. In packing no regard need be had to the different divisions or classes as specified in the Invoice but pack'd indiscriminately as may be most advantageous, regard being paid to such articles as may be most likely to receive damage The blankets may be used in the packing for the protection of the goods Such articles as are taken from the Military stores are to be enter'd in the invoice under their proper heads with weight extend'd & without price

[Endorsed:] Cap^{t} Lewis. Articles wanted by him

N^{o} 19. 20. 22. 24. 25. 26. & 27. being copies of the Bills of Purchases for Cap^{t} Lewis sent down to him, copies of the other bills he took with him June 20

[Endorsed:] Mem^{o} Cap^{t} Lewis

[No. 2]

List of articles purchased by Israel Whelen, Purveyor of Public Supplies, for the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Pacific Ocean (1803).

Indian Presents

			Wt				
12	Pipe Tomahawks		8 ¾	.	.	.	18 "
6 ½	lbs Strips Sheet Iron		6 ½	.	.	.	1 62
1	Ps red flannel 47 ½ yds		12 ¾	5	12	0	14 94
11	Ps Hanckercheifs assd		13 lb	22	8	9	59 83
1	doz. Ivory Combs		3 oz	1	5	0	3 33
½	Catty Inda S. Silk		7 oz	1	8	1 ½	3 75
21	lbs Tread assd		21 lbs	8	13	9	23 17
1	Ps Scarlet Cloth 22 yds		28 ¾	21	18	9	58 50
5 ½	doz fan: i Floss	6 ¾	.	7	1	6	18 87
6	Gro: Binding	9 ¼	.	4	8	5	11 79
2	Cards Beads	1 ¾	26 ½	1	8	6	3 80
4	doz: Butcher Knives	8 ¾	.	2	0	0	5 33
12	doz. Pocket Looking Glasses		12 ½ lb	.	.	.	5 19
15	doz. Pewter do do		3 6/16	.	.	.	3 99
8	doz. Burning do		11 ¼	.	.	12	12 ..
2	doz. Nonesopretty		3 ¼	.	.	.	2 94
2	doz. Red strip'd tapes		1 ½	.	.	.	2 80
72	ps Strip'd silk ribbon		3 ¼	.	.	.	39 60
3	lbs Beads		3 lb	.	.	.	2 01
6	Papers Small Bells		1 ¼	.	.	.	4 02
1	box with 100 larger do		1 3/16	.	.	.	2 25
73	Bunches Beads assd		20	.	.	.	41
3 ½	doz: Tinsel Bands assd		9 oz	.	.	.	3 75
1	doz: Needle Cases		5 ½ oz	.	.	.	30
2 ¾	doz Lockets		3 oz	.	.	.	3 56
8 ½	lbs Red Beads		8 ½	.	.	.	25 50
2	doz: Earings			4	.	.	1 ..
8	Brass Kettles a 4/ Per lb.		20 lbs	.	.	.	10 67
12	lbs Brass Strips		. .	.	.	.	6 80
500	Broaches		1 ½ b	.	.	.	62 07
72	Rings		. .	.	.	.	6 00
2	Corn Mills		52 ¾	.	.	.	20 00
15	doz: Scissors		17 ¼	.	.	.	18 97
12	lbs Brass Wire		.	2	18	6	7 80
14	lbs Knitting Pins		14	1	9	2	3 89
4600	Needles assd		2 ¼	3	13	.	9 73
2800	Fish Hooks assd		6 ⅛	3	.	.	8 ..
1	Gro: Iron Combs		8 ½	1	1	.	2 80

3	Gro: Curtain Rings	1 ¾	.	14	.	1 87
2	Gro: Thimbles assd.	2 ½	1	4	3	3 21
11	doz: Knives	37	9	8	9	25 17
10	lbs Brads	16	7	6	.	1 00
8	lbs Red lead	8	.	.	.	89
2	lbs Vermillion	2	.	.	3	3 34
130	Rolls of Tobacco (pigtail) . .	63	.	.	14	14 25
48	Calico Ruffled Shirts	.	.	.	.	71 04
15	Blankets (from P. Store) . . .	.	.	.	.	
1	Trunk to pack sundry Ind: Prests	.	.	.	.	3 50
8	Groce Seat or Mockasin Awls .	.	.	.	.	15 67
						669 50

From Public Store — vizt 15 Blankets

[Endorsed] No 1: Indian Presents Dolls 669 50

Camp Equipage

		Wt				
4	Tin Horns	1 ¾		.	.	2 ..
2	" Lanthorns	1		.	.	2 ..
2	" Lamps	½		.	.	50
32	" Cannisters of P. Soup . .	193		.	.	8 ..
1	" Box sqr of Small astd . .	1 ½		.	.	1 ..
3	doz: Pint Tumblers	6 ½		.	.	4 20
125	Large fishg Hooks	.		.	.	4 45
	Fishg Lines assorted	10 ½		.	.	18 09
1	Stand of Fishg do with hooks Complete	.		.	.	3 ..
1	Sportsmans flaske	.		.	.	1 50
8	ps Cat gut for Mosquito Cart . .	11	5	16	3	15 50
6	Brass Kettles & Porterage 25 ft. .	28		.	.	15 18
1	block tin Sauce pan	¾		.	.	1 50
1	Corn Mill	20		.	.	9 ..
1	Set of Gold Scales & Wts . . .	¼		.	.	2 33
1	Rule	1 oz		.	.	60
1	Sett Iron Weights	4		.	.	75
2	pr Large Shears	3 ½		.	.	1 86
4	doz: Packg Needles & large Awls	1		8	6	1 13
2	doz: Table Spoons	3	.	14	.	1 87
4	drawing Knives	2 ½	.	9	.	1 20
3	doz: Gimblets	5 ¼ lbs	1	3	.	3 60
17	do files & Rasps & 1 Shoe float .	5	.	17	4	2 31
1 ¼	doz. Small cord	8 ½	13	5	5	1 79
2	Small Vices	.	.	.	6	1 67
2	pr Plyers	.	.	.	3	97
1	Saw Sett	10	.	7	9	10
9	Chisels	.	.	.	3	1 77

2	Adzes	4	.	9	1	1 20
2	hand Saws	4 ½	1	3	.	3 06
6	Augers 6	3 ½		12	3	1 64
2	Hatchets	.	.	6	3	83
1	Wetstone	4 ½	.	3	6	47
2	P. Pocket Steel yards	.	.	3	6	47
	Pkg 12 lbs Castile Soap	.	.	.	.	1 68
						117 67

From Public Store.

8	Receipt Books
48	Ps. Tape
6	Brass Inkstands
6	Papers Ink Powder
1	Common Tent
1	lb. Sealing Wax
100	Quils
1	Packing Hogshead

Bought by the Purveyor of Richd Wevill 8 Tents
45 Bags
10 yd Country Linnen } Oiled
20 " Brown do

[Endorsed:] No 2 Camp Equipage

Mathematical Instruments.

1	Spirit level	4 . .
1	Case platting Instruments	14 . .
1	Two pole chain	2 . .
1	Pocket Compas plated	5 . .
1	Brass Boat Compass	1 50
3	Brass Pocket Compasses	7 50
1	Magnet	1 . .
1	Hadleys Quadrant Wt Tangt Screw	22 . .
1	Metal Sextant	90 . .
	Microscope to index of d	7 . .
	Sett of Slates in a case	4 . .
4	oz of Talc	1 25
1	Surveying Compass wt extra needles (P by L)	23 50
1	Circular protractor & index do.	8 . .
1	Six In: Pocket Telescope do.	7 . .
1	Nautical Ephemeris do.	1 50
1	Requisite Tables do	2 50
	Kirwan's Mineralogy do	5 . .

1 Chronometer & Keys		250 75
1 Copy of Bartons Bottany (pd by C. L.)		6 . .
Kelleys Spherics	do	3 . .
2 Nautical Ephemeris	do	4 . .
Log line reel & log ship		1 95
Parrallel Glass for a Horison		1 . .

[Endorsed:] N° 3 Mathematical Instrumts

Arms & Accoutrements & Ammn

1 Pair Pocket pistols	(P. by L.)	10 . .
176 lb Gun powder	176 lbs	155 75
52 leaden Cannisters for Gunpowr	420 lbs	26 33
15 Powder Horns & Pouches		26 25

From Public Store

15 Powder Horns
18 Tomahaws
15 Scalpking Knives & Belts
15 Gun Slings
30 Brushes & Wires
15 Cartouch Boxes
15 painted Knapsacks
500 Rifle Flints
125 Musket do
50 lb best rifle Powder
1 pr Horsemans Pistols
420 lbs Sheet Lead

[Endorsed:] N°. 4 Arms, Ammn & Accoutrets

Medicines &c

1 Box	Wt	} $90.69
1 do.	Wt	
2 lbs Tea & Cannister W. 2 lbs		3.80
		94.49

[Endorsed:] N° 5 Medicine &c

Provisions &c

193 lbs P. Soup	193	289 50
30 Galls Spr of Wine in 6 Kegs		77 20
		366 70

[Endorsed:] N° 6 Provisions &c

	Doll$	Cts
45 Flannel Shirts	71	10
16 Coatees	246	63
	317	73

From Public Stores viz^{t}

15 Blankets
15 Match Coats
15 P^{s} blue wool: overalls
36 pairs Stock^{gs}
20 Frocks
30 P^{r} Shirts
20 P^{r} Shoes

[Endorsed:] N° 7 Clothing

[No. 3]

Invoice of Articles received from the Arsenal for the use of Cap^{t} Lewis May 18th 1803

Invoice of Articles to be D^{d}. Cap. Lewis —

A & A	15 Powder Horns	a & a	15 Paintd Knapsacks
d°	18 Tomhawks	d°	500 Rifle flints
d°	15 Scalping Knives & Belts	d°	125 Musket d°
d°	15 Gun Slings	d°	50 ^{lb} best Rifle Powder
d°	30 Brushes & Wires	d°	1 P. Horsemans Pistols
d°	15 Cartouch Box Belts		420 ^{lbs} Sheet lead
Camp	8 Rec^{t} Books	Ind P	15 Blankets
d°	48 Pieces Tape	Camp	100 Quils
d°	6 Brass Ink Stands	Cloth^{g}	20 P^{r} Shoes
d°	6 Papers Ink Powder.	Camp	1 packg Hhd
d°	1 Common Tent		
Cloth^{g}	15 Blankets 3 pt.		
d°	15 Match Coats.		
d°	15 Priv. Wool Overalls (Blue)		
d°	36 Pair Stockings		
d°	20 Frocks		
d°	30 Priv Lin Shirts		
Camp	1 lb Seal^{g} Wax.		

To be left at M^{r} Whelens Office May 18th 1803

[Endorsed:] W^{m} A. Bass — for Geo. Ingels Esq^{r} K M S

PHILA. May 18. 1803

M^{r} Israel Wheelen

B^{t} of Geo R. Lawton

70 Large hooks	@ 30/ pts	$2.80
55 ditto	@ 22/6 pts	1.65
1 don^{l} drum Lines		4.—

1 do. Rock ditto	2.50
1½ do. India Lines $5	7.50
1 India Line	.42
2 Lines — $1	2.—
Sportsman Flask	1.50
8 Stave reel	3.—
	$25.37

Rec pay[t]
GEO. R. LAWTON

Received the within Articles
MERIWETHER LEWIS.
Cap[t] 1[st] US. Reg[t] Inf[y]

[No. 4]

List of Charges taken out of Cap Lewis's account to be charged to other acco[ts] as specified

176 [lbs] Gunpowder B. & H.		N[o] 16 ordnance		$155.75
Leaden Canesters for securing gunpowder			No. 4	26.33
		Ludlam		
15 Shot-pouches	Marten	Q[r] M[r]	26	26.25
1 Par of pistols	Barnhill	Ord		10. . .
6 Brass kettles from one to five gallons			No. 13	15.18
		Harbeson & Sons		
4 Drawing-knives		H & Worth	"	1.20
3 Doz. Gimblets assorted		D[o]	"	3.6
2 Small vices		D[o]	"	1.67
1 Saw-set		D[o]	"	..10
9 Chissels assorted		D[o]	"	1.77
2 Hand-saws		D[o]	Ord. No. 10	3.6
6 Augers assorted		D[o]	"	1.64
17 Files assorted		D[o]	"	2.31
1 Whetstone		D[o]	"	.47
Medecine & Sergecal instruments		Hosp[l]	"	94.49
		No. 5 & 7 — GOS & P. Logan		
Oil-cloth tents & Baggs		Wevill — Q[r] M[r]		119.39
		No. 27		
Transportation of public stores from Philadelphia to Indian D. Pittsburgh				
1 Boat and her caparison, including spiked poles, boat-hooks & toe line to be furnished at Pittsburgh				
18 Small falling axes to be furnished at D[o]		Indian D.		
				$462.67

176 lbs	Gunpowder B. & H.	N° 16 ordnance		$155.75
	Leaden Canesters for securing gunpowder	No 4 ordnance		26.33
15	Shot pouches	Marten Ludlam Q^r M^r	26	26.25

[No. 5]

Bill of Gillaspy & Strong for Medicine

Israel Wheelen Purveyor Bought of Gillaspy & Strong

the following articles for the use of M. Lewis Esquire on his tour up the Missisipi River, & supplied by his Order : — Viz

15	lb.	Pulv. Cort. Peru	$30.00	4	oz.	Laudanum	.50
½	"	" Jalap	.67	2	lb	Ung. Basilic Flav.	50 1.00
½	"	" Rhei [Rhubarb]	1.	1	"	" " e lap Calimin	50 .50
4	oz.	" Ipecacuan.	1.25	1	"	" Epispastric	1.
2	lb	" Crem. Tart.	.67	1	"	" Mercuriale	1.25
2	oz.	Gum Camphor	.40	1.		Emplast. Diach. S.	.50
1	lb	" Assafoetid.	1.	1.		Set Pocket Inst^s small	9.50
½	lb	" Opii Turk. opt.	2.50	1.		" Teeth " "	2.25
¼	"	" Tragacanth	.37	1.		Clyster Syringe	2.75
6	lb	Sal Glauber 10	.60	4.		Penis do.	1.
2	"	" Nitri 33½	.67	3.		Best Lancets .80	2.40
2	"	" Copperas	.10	1.		Tourniquet	3.50
6	oz.	Sacchar. Saturn. opt.	.37	2.	oz	Patent Lint	.25
4	"	Calomel	.75	50.	doz.	Bilious Pills to Order of B. Rush. 10	5.00
1	"	Tartar Emetic	.10	6.		Tin Canisters 25	1.50
4	"	Vitriol Alb.	.12	3.	8oz	G^d. Stop^d bottles 40	1.20
½	lb	Columbo Rad.	1.	5	4 "	Tinctures do	1.85
¼	"	Elix. Vitriol	.25	6.	4 "	Salt M°	2.22
¼	"	Ess. Menth. pip.	.50	1.		Walnut Chest	4.50
¼	"	Bals. Copaiboe	.37	1.		Pine do.	1.20
¼	"	" Traumat.	.50			Porterage	.30
2.		oz Magnesia	.20				
							$90.69

¼	lb	Indian Ink 1.50
2	oz	Gum Elastic .37
2	"	Nutmegs .75
2	"	Cloves .31
4	"	Cinnamon .20
		$46.52

PHILA May 26. 1803

Recd May 27, 1803 of Israel Whelen Ninety Dollars & 69 cents in full — for Gillaspy & Strong.

$90.69 THOMAS H. DAWSON

Duplicate

Received the within articles —
MERIWETHER LEWIS.
Capt 1st U. S. Regt Inftry

[Endorsed:] Nº 14 Gillaspy & Strong Expedn to W. O $90.69 May 27. 1803 Say Hospital Dr

[No. 6]

Bill of Rich. Wevill for making tents, etc.[1]

Mr Israel Whelen To Richd Wevill Dr

10103

June 15	To 107 Yds of 7/8 brown Linen	a 1/6	21.40
	To 45½ Yds of 9/8 Flanders Sheeting . . .	a 2/5	14.49
	Shod be 14.66 but no more pd than 14:49		
	To 10 Yds of 9/8 Country Linen	3/	4 . .
	To making the brown Linen into 8/ Tents, with Eyelet-holes, laps, &c., thread &c. . .		16 . .
	To making the Russia Sheeting into 45 bags. thread & cord	a 1/6	9 . .
	To 2 Gross of Hooks & Eyes	a 3/9	1 . .
	To Oiling all the Linen & Sheeting 156 Square Yards	a 2/6	52 . .
	To Numbering all the Bags & Tents		1.50
			$119.39

Rec'd June 18th 1803 of Israel Whelen One hundred Nineteen dollars 39 Cents infull & Signed Two Receipts

$119.39/100 RICHARD WEVIL

United States Arsenal July 20th 1803 Received the above specified Tents & Bags
G. W. INGELS

[Endorsed:] Nº 11 Richd Wevill $119:39 June 17: 1803

[1] Note to the Editor from Major John T. Knight, Q. M.: "This copy of the bill of Rich. Wevill for making 8 tents, and the item of 1 Common Tent, mentioned on another paper as being supplied from the public stores, furnishes all the data respecting the style or size of the tents which was gathered from Capt. Lewis's papers, or a search of the other records of this period, stored at Schuylkill Arsenal."

Capt Lewis

This Box of Mathematical Instruments to be Sent for to M^{r} Paterson's & well Secured with canvas — mark'd " This side up," on the top — & particular charge given to the waggoner respect^{g} it.

Some copies of Bills to be sent him.

weight of remaining articles to be sent him

a Strong Waggon W^{t} from here 2700 — to be increased to 3500 or more

If he has left any small bills unpaid requests M^{r} W. to pay them.

[Endorsed:] Mem: Cap^{t} Lewis.

XVIII

JEFFERSON'S INSTRUCTIONS TO LEWIS[1]

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 1, vol. 9, doc. 269.]

To Meriwether Lewis, esquire, Captain of the 1st regiment of infantry of the United States of America: Your situation as Secretary of the President of the United States has made you acquainted with the objects of my confidential message of Jan. 18, 1803, to the legislature. you have seen the act they passed, which, tho' expressed in general terms, was meant to sanction those objects, and you are appointed to carry them into execution.

Instruments for ascertaining by celestial observations the geography of the country thro' which you will pass, have already been provided. light articles for barter, & presents among the Indians, arms for your attendants, say for from 10 to 12 men, boats, tents, & other travelling apparatus, with ammunition, medicine, surgical instruments & provisions you will have prepared with such aids as the Secretary at War can yield in his department; & from him also you will recieve authority to engage among our troops, by voluntary agreement, the number of attendants above mentioned, over whom you, as their commanding officer are invested with all the powers the laws give in such a case.

As your movements while within the limits of the U. S. will be better directed by occasional communications, adapted to circumstances as they arise, they will not be noticed here. what follows will respect your proceedings after your departure from the U. S.

Your mission has been communicated to the Ministers here from France, Spain & Great Britain, and through them to their governments: and such assurances given them as to it's objects as we trust will satisfy them. the country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the Minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all it's subjects: And that from the Minister of England will entitle you to the

[1] As will be seen by document xiv, *ante*, the "rough draft" of these instructions was sent to Lewis early in May. This is the finished document. — ED.

friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you may happen to meet.

The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by it's course & communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce.

Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take observations of latitude & longitude, at all remarkable points on the river, & especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands & other places & objects distinguished by such natural marks & characters of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognized hereafter. the courses of the river between these points of observation may be supplied by the compass, the log-line & by time, corrected by the observations themselves. the variations of the compass too, in different places, should be noticed.

The interesting points of the portage between the heads of the Missouri & the water offering the best communication with the Pacific Ocean should also be fixed by observation, & the course of that water to the ocean, in the same manner as that of the Missouri.

Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly, & intelligibly for others as well as yourself, to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tables, to fix the latitude and longitude of the places at which they were taken, & are to be rendered to the war office, for the purpose of having the calculations made concurrently by proper persons within the U. S. several copies of these, as well as your other notes, should be made at leisure times & put into the care of the most trustworthy of your attendants, to guard by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed. a further guard would be that one of these copies be written on the paper of the birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper.

The commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue, renders a knolege of these people important. you will therefore endeavor to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit,

with the names of the nations & their numbers;
the extent & limits of their possessions;
their relations with other tribes or nations;
their language, traditions, monuments;
their ordinary occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, & the implements for these;

their food, clothing, & domestic accomodations;
the diseases prevalent among them, & the remedies they use;
moral & physical circumstances which distinguish them from the tribes we know;
peculiarities in their laws, customs & dispositions;
and articles of commerce they may need or furnish, & to what extent.

And considering the interest which every nation has in extending & strengthening the authority of reason & justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knolege you can of the state of morality, religion & information among them, as it may better enable those who endeavor to civilize & instruct them, to adapt their measures to the existing notions & practises of those on whom they are to operate.

Other object worthy of notice will be
the soil & face of the country, it's growth & vegetable productions; especially those not of the U. S.
the animals of the country generally, & especially those not known in the U. S.
the remains and accounts of any which may deemed rare or extinct;
the mineral productions of every kind; but more particularly metals, limestone, pit coal & saltpetre; salines & mineral waters, noting the temperature of the last, & such circumstances as may indicate their character.
Volcanic appearances.
climate as characterized by the thermometer, by the proportion of rainy, cloudy & clear days, by lightening, hail, snow, ice, by the access & recess of frost, by the winds prevailing at different seasons, the dates at which particular plants put forth or lose their flowers, or leaf, times of appearance of particular birds, reptiles or insects.

Altho' your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavor to inform yourself, by inquiry, of the character & extent of the country watered by it's branches, & especially on it's Southern side. the North river or Rio Bravo which runs into the gulph of Mexico, and the North river, or Rio colorado, which runs into the gulph of California, are understood to be the principal streams heading opposite to the waters of the Missouri, and running Southwardly. whether the dividing grounds between the Missouri & them are mountains or flatlands, what are their distance from the Missouri, the character of the intermediate country, &

the people inhabiting it, are worthy of particular enquiry. The Northern waters of the Missouri are less to be enquired after, because they have been ascertained to a considerable degree, and are still in a course of ascertainment by English traders & travellers. but if you can learn anything certain of the most Northern source of the Missisipi, & of it's position relative to the lake of the woods, it will be interesting to us. some account too of the path of the Canadian traders from the Missisipi, at the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, to where it strikes the Missouri and of the soil & rivers in it's course, is desireable.

In all your intercourse with the natives treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey, satisfy them of it's innocence, make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable & commercial dispositions of the U. S. of our wish to be neighborly, friendly & useful to them, & of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, & the articles of most desireable interchange for them & us. if a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers, on their entering the U. S. to have them conveyed to this place at public expence. if any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, & taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct & take care of them. such a mission, whether of influential chiefs, or of young people, would give some security to your own party. carry with you some matter of the kine-pox, inform those of them with whom you may be of it' efficacy as a preservative from the small-pox; and instruct & incourage them in the use of it. this may be especially done wherever you winter.

As it is impossible for us to foresee in what manner you will be recieved by those people, whether with hospitality or hostility, so is it impossible to prescribe the exact degree of perseverance with which you are to pursue your journey. we value too much the lives of citizens to offer them to probably destruction. your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorised opposition of individuals, or of small parties: but if a superior force, authorised or not authorised, by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, & inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline it's further pursuit, and return. in the loss of yourselves, we should lose also the information you will have acquired. by returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means. to your own discretion

therefore must be left the degree of danger you may risk, & the point at which you should decline, only saying we wish you to err on the side of your safety, & bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information.

As far up the Missouri as the white settlements extend, an intercourse will probably be found to exist between them and the Spanish posts at S^{t} Louis, opposite Cahokia, or S^{te} Genevieve opposite Kaskaskia. from still farther up the river, the traders may furnish a conveyance for letters. beyond that you may perhaps be able to engage Indians to bring letters for the government to Cahokia or Kaskaskia, on promising that they shall there receive such special compensation as you shall have stipulated with them. avail yourself of these means to communicate to us, at seasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes & observations of every kind, putting into cypher whatever might do injury if betrayed.

Should you reach the Pacific ocean [One full line scratched out, indecipherable. — Ed.] inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado & Oregon or Columbia) as at Nootka sound or any other point of that coast; & that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri & U. S. more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised.

On your arrival on that coast endeavor to learn if there be any port within your reach frequented by the sea-vessels of any nation, and to send two of your trusty people back by sea, in such way as shall appear practicable, with a copy of your notes. and should you be of opinion that the return of your party by the way they went will be eminently dangerous, then ship the whole, & return by sea by way of Cape Horn or the Cape of good Hope, as you shall be able. as you will be without money, clothes or provisions, you must endeavor to use the credit of the U. S. to obtain them; for which purpose open letters of credit shall be furnished you authorising you to draw on the Executive of the U. S. or any of its officers in any part of the world, on which drafts can be disposed of, and to apply with our recommendations to the Consuls, agents, merchants or citizens of any nation with which we have intercourse, assuring them in our name that any aids they may furnish you, shall honorably repaid, and on demand. Our consuls Thomas Howes at Batavia in Java, William Buchanan of the isles of France and Bourbon, & John Elmslie at the Cape of good hope will be able to supply your necessities by draughts on us.

Should you find it safe to return by the way you go, after sending two

of your party round by sea, or with your whole party, if no conveyance by sea can be found, do so; making such observations on your return as may serve to supply, correct or confirm those made on your outward journey.

In re-entering the U. S. and reaching a place of safety, discharge any of your attendants who may desire & deserve it, procuring for them immediate paiment of all arrears of pay & cloathing which may have incurred since their departure; & assure them that they shall be recommended to the liberality of the legislature for the grant of a soldier's portion of land each, as proposed in my message to Congress & repair yourself with your papers to the seat of government.

To provide, on the accident of your death, against anarchy, dispersion & the consequent danger to your party, and total failure of the enterprise, you are hereby authorised, by any instrument signed & written in your hand, to name the person among them who shall succeed to the command on your decease, & by like instruments to change the nomination from time to time, as further experience of the characters accompanying you shall point out superior fitness: and all the powers & authorities given to yourself are, in the event of your death, transferred to & vested in the successor so named, with further power to him, & his successors in like manner to name each his successor, who, on the death of his predecessor, shall be invested with all the powers & authorities given to yourself.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, this 20th. day of June 1803

TH. JEFFERSON
Pr. U S. of America

XIX

JEFFERSON TO HENRY PEYROUX DE LA COUDRENAIRE[1]

[Extract from Ford, viii. p. 199.]

WASHINGTON, July 3, 1803.

DEAR SIR: Since I had the pleasure of your acquaintance in Philadelphia in 1791, I had supposed you were returned to Europe. I have lately however been told that you preside at present at Ste. Genevieve & [St.] Louis. I cannot therefore omit the satisfaction of writing to you by Capt. Lewis, an officer in our army, & for some time past my secretary. As our former acquaintance was a mixt one of science & business so is the occasion of renewing it. You know that the geography of the Missouri and the most convenient water communication from the head of that to the Pacific ocean is a desideratum not yet satisfied. Since coming to the administration of the U. S. I have taken the earliest opportunity in my power to have that communication explored, and Capt. Lewis with a party of twelve or fifteen men is authorized to do it. His journey being merely literary, to inform us of the geography & natural history of the country, I have procured a passport for him & his party, from the minister of France here, it being agreed between him & the Spanish minister, that the country having been ceded to France, her minister may most properly give authority for the journey. This was the state of things when the passport was given, which was some time since. But before Capt. Lewis's actual departure we learn through a channel of unquestionable information that France has ceded the whole country of Louisiana to the U. S. by a treaty concluded in the first days of May. But for an object as innocent & useful as this I am sure you will not be scrupulous as to the authorities on which this journey is undertaken; & that you will give all the protection you can to Capt. Lewis & his party in going & returning. I have no doubt you can be particularly useful to him, and it is to solicit your patronage that I trouble you with the present letter, praying you at the same time to accept my friendly salutations & assurances of my high respect & consideration.

[1] Spanish commandant at Ste. Genevieve. — ED.

XX

JEFFERSON'S LETTER OF CREDIT TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 1, vol. 9, doc. 94.][1]

WASHINGTON, U. S. OF AMERICA, July 4, 1803.

DEAR SIR: In the journey which you are about to undertake[2] for the discovery of the course and source of the Missouri, and of the most convenient water communication from thence to the Pacific ocean, your party being small, it is to be expected that you will encounter considerable dangers from the Indian inhabitants. should you escape those dangers and reach the Pacific ocean, you may find it imprudent to hazard a return the same way, and be forced to seek a passage round by sea, in such vessels as you may find on the Western coast. but you will be without money, without clothes, & other necessaries; as a sufficient supply cannot be carried with you from hence. your resource in that case can only be in the credit of the U. S. for which purpose I hereby authorise you to draw on the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War & of the Navy of the U S. according as you may find your draughts will be most negociable, for the purpose of obtaining money or necessaries for yourself & your men; and I solemnly pledge the faith of the United States that these draughts shall be paid punctually at the date they are made payable. I also ask of the Consuls, agents, merchants & citizens of any nation with which we have intercourse or amity to furnish you with those supplies which

[1] At least three copies of this letter of credit appear to have been made, all of them in Jefferson's handwriting. We follow, as stated, the manuscript in the Jefferson Papers — probably the original draft; another copy was found among the papers of Clark, and is now the property of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, of New York City; another, "resurrected at Helena, Mont. . . . sere with age, misshapen with numerous foldings, and 'dog-eared' from the treatment of not quite a century," was published first in the Seattle (Wash.) *Post-Intelligencer*, and therefrom into *Lewisiana* (Guilford, Conn.) for September, 1895. The last-named is fac-similed in Wheeler, *On the Trail of Lewis and Clark*, i, p. 41, and may have been the copy carried by Lewis. — ED

[2] Lewis left Washington for the West the following day (July 5). — ED.

your necessities may call for, assuring them of honorable and prompt retribution. and our own Consuls in foreign parts where you may happen to be, are hereby instructed & required to be aiding & assisting you in whatsoever may be necessary for procuring your return back to the United States. And to give more entire satisfaction & confidence to those who may be disposed to aid you, I Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, have written this letter of general credit for you with my own hand, and signed it with my name.

TH: JEFFERSON

To Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

XXI

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 108.]

12 O'Clock. HARPER'S FERRY, July 8th 1803.

DEAR SIR: The waggon which was employed by Mr Linnard [1] (the Military Agent at Philadelphia) to transport the articles forming my outfit, passed this place on the 28th Ult the waggoner determined that his team was not sufficiently strong to take the whole of the articles that had been prepared for me at this place and therfore took none of them; of course it became necessary to provide some other means of geting them forward; for this purpose on the evening of the 5th *at Fredericktown* I engaged a person with a light two horse-waggon who promised to set out with them this morning, in this however he has dissapointed me and I have been obliged to engage a second person who will be here this evening in time to load and will go on early in the morning: I shall set out myself in the course of an hour, taking the rout of Charlestown, Frankfort, Uniontown, and Redstone old fort [2] to Pittsburgh, at which place I shall most probably arrive on the 15th

Yesterday I shot my guns and examined the several articles which had been manufactured for me at this place; they appear to be well executed.

My complyments to Mr Harvie, & accept the assureance of my sincere wishes for your health and happiness.

Your friend & Obt Servt

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

Mr Jefferson, Presidt of U S.

[1] William Linnard of Pennsylvania was appointed military agent for the Middle Department of the U. S. Army, May 3, 1802. In the War of 1812–15 he was quartermaster-general. — ED.

[2] Now Brownsville, Pa. — ED.

XXII

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 114.]

I ENCLOSE you your pocket book left here. if the dirk will appear passable by post, that shall also be sent when recieved. your bridle left by the inattention of Joseph in packing your saddle, is too bulky to go in that way. we have not recieved a word from Europe since you left us. be so good as to keep me always advised how to direct to you. accept my affectionate salutations & assurances of constant esteem.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 03.

XXIII

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 115.]

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1803.

DEAR SIR: I dropped you a line on the 11th inst and last night recieved yours of the 8th last night also we recieved the treaty from Paris ceding Louisiana according to the bounds to which France had a right. price 11¼ millions of Dollars, besides paying certain debts of France to our citizens which will be from 1, to 4, millions. I received also from Mr La Cepede,[1] *at Paris*, to whom I had mentioned your intended expedition a letter of which the following is an extract. "Mr Broughton, one of the companions of Mr. Vancouver went up Columbia River 100 miles, in December 1792. he stopped at a point which he named Vancouver, lat. 45° 27′, longitude 237° 50′ E. here the river Columbia is still a quarter of a mile wide & from 12 to 36 feet deep. It is far then to it's head. from this point Mount Hood is seen 20 leagues distant, which is probably a dependence of the Stony mountains, of which mr Fiedler saw the beginning about lat 40° and the source of the Missouri river is probably in the Stony mountains. if your nation can establish an easy communication by rivers, canals & short portages between N. York for example & the city (they were building) or (to be built) (for the badness of the writing makes it uncertain which is meant, but probably the last) at the mouth of the Columbia, what a route for the commerce of Europe, Asia & America." Accept my affectionate salutations.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt M. Lewis.

[1] Bernard Germain Etienne de Laville, Comte de Lacépède, a distinguished French naturalist. He had just published (1803) a history of butterflies, in five volumes.— ED.

XXIV

CLARK ACCEPTS LEWIS'S INVITATION

[Rough draft, by Clark. From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

CLARKSVILLE 17th July 1803

DEAR LEWIS: I received by yesterday's Mail your letter of the 19th ulto: the contents of which I received with *much pleasure.* The enterprise & Mission is such as I have long anticipated & am much pleased with and as my situation in life will admit of my absence the length of time necessary to accomplish such an undertaking, I will cheerfully join you in an "official character" as mentioned in your letter and partake of all the Dangers Difficulties & fatigues, and I anticipate the honors & rewards of the result of such an enterprise should we be successful in accomplishing it. This is an imense undertaking fraited with numerous dificulties, but my friend I can assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake and share the Dificulties of such a trip than yourself. I reserve nothing from you that will add either to yr profit or satisfaction and shall arrange my matters as well as I can against your arrival here.

It may be necessary that you inform the president of my acceding to the proposals, so that I may be furnished with such credentials, as the nature of the Tour may require, which I suppose had best be forwarded to Louisville. The objects of this Plan of Government's are great and appear flattering the means with which we are furnished to carry it into effect, I think are sufficiently liberal. The plan of operation which you inform me you intended to pursue (with a small addition as to the outfit) I highly approve of.

I shall endeavor to engage temporally such men as I think may answer our purpose but, holding out the Idea as stated in your letter — the subject of which has been mentioned in Louisville several weeks ago.

Pray write to me by every post, I shall be exceedingly anxious to know where you are and how you proceed.

With every assurance of sincerity in every respect, and with affn yr fd & H. Srv

W. C.

XXV

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 100.]

PITTSBURGH, July 22d 1803.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 11th & 15th Inst were duly recieved, the former on the 18th. inst. the latter on this day. For my pocketbook I thank you: the dirk could not well come by post, nor is it of any moment to me, the knives that were made at Harper's ferry will answer my purpose equally as well and perhaps better; it can therefore be taken care of untill my return: the bridle is of no consequence at all. After the reciept of this letter I think it will be best to direct me at Louisville Kentuckey.

The person who contracted to build my boat engaged to have it in readiness by the 20th inst; in this however he has failed; he pleads his having been disappointed in procuring timber, but says he has now supplyed himself with the necessary materials, and that she shall be completed by the last of this month; however in this I am by no means sanguine, nor do I believe from the progress he makes that she will be ready before the 5th. of August; I visit him every day, and endeavour by every means in my power to hasten the completion of the work: I have prevailed on him to engage more hands, and he tells me two others will join him in the morning, if so, he may probably finish the boat by the time he mentioned: I shall embark immediately the boat is in readiness, there being no other consideration which at this moment detains me.

The Waggon from Harper's ferry arrived today, bringing everything with which she was charged in good order.

The party of recruits that were ordered from Carlisle to this place with a view to descend the river with me, have arrived with the exception of one, who deserted on the march, his place however can be readily supplyed from the recruits at this place enlisted by Lieut. Hook.

The current of the Ohio is extreemly low and continues to decline, this may impede my progress but shall not prevent my proceeding, being determined to get forward though I should not be able to make a greater distance than a mile p^{r} day. —

I am with the most sincere regard Your Ob^{t}. Serv^{t}.

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

Thomas Jefferson President U. S.

XXVI

CLARK NOTIFIES JEFFERSON

[Rough draft, on third page of the same sheet with Clark's letter to Lewis (doc. no. xxiv), evidently the scheme of a letter to the President. A partial duplicate of this memorandum appears again on the fourth page of the sheet, with date above it, "24th July."]

I HAD the Honor of receiving thro' Cap. Lewis an assurance of your approbation and wish that I would join him in a N. W. Enterprise.

Altho' a Tour of this kind is [two words illegible] dificulties and dangers I will chearfully join my F. Lewis in the accomplishment of them, and shall arrange my business so as to be in readiness to set out in a short time after he arrives here. May I request the favour of you to forward the inclosed letter to Cap. Lewis should he not be with you? May I have the pleasure of hering from you?

I am with respt

XXVII

CLARK REITERATES HIS ACCEPTANCE OF LEWIS'S OFFER

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

Louisville 24th July 1803

Dear Lewis: I wrote you in answer to your letter of the 19th ulto: by the last Mail, the contents of which as I before informed you were truly pleasing to me and such as I heartily join you in. I am arranging my matters so as to detain but a short time after your arrival here, well convinced of the necessity of getting as far as possible up the ——— this fall to accomplish the object as laid down by yourself and which I highly approve of.

I have temporally engaged some men for the enterprise of a description calculated to work & go thro' those labours & fatigues which will be necessary. Several young men (gentlemen's sons) have applyed to accompany us. As they are not accustomed to labour and as that is a verry essential part of the services required of the party, I am cautious in giving them any encouragement. The newspaper accounts seem to confirm the report of war in Europe and the session of Louisiana to the United States and as I think it possible that a confirmation of the session of Louisiana may have detained you at the City longer than you expected, I have enclosed a letter to you under cover to Mr. Jefferson. Pray let me hear from you as often as possible.

Yr. WC.

[The following paragraph in the above rough draft was scratched out:]

My friend I join you with hand & Heart and anticipate advantages which will certainly arrive from the accomplishment of so vast, Hazidous & fatiguing enterprise. You no doubt will inform the president of my determination to join you in an "official Character" as mentioned in your letter. The Credentials necessary for me to be furnished with had best be forwarded to this place, and if we set out before their arrival, to Kaskaskie.

XXVIII

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 101.]

PITTSBURGH, July 26th 1803.

DEAR SIR: I have recieved as yet no answer from Mr Clark: in the event of Mr Clark's declining to accompany me Lieut Hooke[1] of this place has engaged to do so, if permitted; and I think from his disposition and qualifications that I might safely calculate on being as ably assisted by him in the execution of the objects of my mission, as I could wish, or would be, by any other officer in the Army. Lieut. Hooke is about 26 years of age, endowed with a good constitution, possessing a sensible well informed mind, is industrious, prudent and persevering, and withall intrepid and enterprising: he has acted as Military Agent at this place for a few months past, and of course will have some public accounts to adjust, tho' he tells me he can settle those accounts, deliver the public stores to the person who may be directed to take charge of them, and prepare to go with me, at any time, within the course of a day or two. Should I recieve no answer from Mr Clark previous to my leaving this place, or he decline going with me, I would be much gratifyed with being authorized to take Lieut. Hooke with me, first directing him to settle his public accounts, and make such disposition of the publick stores as the Secretary of War may think proper to direct. There is a Capt Reed of the Artly here, who will probably not leave this place untill an answer can be recieved, or if he should, Majr Craig of Pittsburgh would take charge of the stores untill an officer could be ordered on for that purpose.

It is probable that you will have left Washington before this letter can reach that place, and if so, knowing the delay incident to a communication between yourself and the Secretary of War at such a distance, and conceiving that it would be necessary that he should decide whether from the nature of his arrangements Lieut Hooke could leave his present station with propriety or not, or his place be supplyed without injury to the public service, I have thought it best to inclose

[1] Moses Hooke, first lieutenant in the First Infantry, Lewis's old regiment. — ED.

this letter to him unsealed, with the request that should you be absent, he would read it and give me an answer on the subject of it as early as possible. It is most probable that I shall leave Pittsburgh before an answer can be returned to this letter, I take the liberty therefore to suggest, that the answer to me had better be inclosed to Lieut Hooke, unsealed, with instructions to him that in the event of my absence, he should read it, and govern himself accordingly. If Lieu[t] Hooke sets out twenty days after me, by taking the rout of Limestone, Louisville and Vincennes he will reach the mouth of the Missourie as early as I shall.

I am with the most sincere attatchment Your Ob[t] Serv[t]

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

The President of the United States.

XXIX

LEWIS'S REPLY TO CLARK'S ACCEPTANCE

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

PITTSBURGH August 3rd 1803.

DEAR CLARK: Yours of the 19th & 24th Ul^{t}. have been duly received, and be assured I feel myself much gratifyed with your decision; for I could neither hope, wish, or expect from a union with any man on earth, more perfect support or further aid in the discharge of the several duties of my mission, than that, which I am confident I shall derive from being associated with yourself.

The articles of every description forming my outfit for this expedition have arrived in good order; my boat only detains me, she is not yet compleated tho' the workman who contracted to build her promises that she shall be in readiness by the last of the next week. The water is low, this may retard, but shall not totally obstruct my progress being determined to proceed tho' I should not be able to make greater speed than a boat's length pr day.

I am pleased to heare that you have engaged some men for this service, your contract with them had better be with the condition of my approval, as by the time I shall arrive more will have offered themselves and a better scelection may of course be made; from the nature of this enterprise much must depend on a judicious scelection of our men; their qualifycations should be such as perfectly fit them for the service outherwise they will reather clog than further the objects in view; on this principle I am well pleased that you have not admitted or encouraged the young gentlemen you mention, we must set our faces against all such applications and get rid of them on the best terms we can, they will not answer our purposes: if a good hunter or two could be conditionally engaged I would think them an acquisition, they must however understand that they will not be employed for the purposes of hunting exclusively but must bear a portion of the labour in common with the party.

Sometime in the month of February last a young man by the name of

John Conner residing among the Delleware Indians on White River offered himself, by letter, to accompany me in the capacity of Interpreter; I wrote him in answer accepting his services and giving him some instructions relative to the points at which I wished him to join me as also to engage one or two Indian hunters for the service — of this letter I forwarded triplicates by different routs but have never received an answer: I am personally acquainted with this man and think that we could not get a person better qualifyed in every respect than he is, and that it will be advisable to spare no pains to get him. If you cannot learn that Conner has gone on to Massac Kaskaskia or Illinois, (which are the places I appointed for his joining me) I think it will be best for you to hire a man to go to the Delleware Town and enquire after him, you may offer him 300 dollars a year and find him provisions and clothing — should he be at the Deleware town and be willing to engage on these terms he had better come on immediately and join us at Louisville. He is a trader among the Indians and I think he told me he lived on White River at the nearest Dellaware town to Fort Hamilton and distant from that place about 24 miles.

The session of Louisiana is now no [word illegible] on the 14th of July the President received the treaty from Paris, by which France has ceded to the U. States, Louisiana according to the bounds to which she had a wright, price 11¼ Millions of dollars, besides paying certain debts of France to our citizens which will be from one to four millions; the Western people may now estimate the value of their possessions.

I have been detained much longer than I expected but shall be with you by the last of this month.

Your sincere friend & Obᵗ. Servᵗ.

Note — Write & direct to me at Cincinnatti

XXX

CLARK TO JOHN CONNOR

[Rough draft of a letter by Clark. From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

Mr. John Conner

SIR: Some time in the month of February last you offered your self by letter to accompany Capt. Meriweather Lewis on n. Western expedition in the capacity of an Interpreter and informed him that you resided among the Delleware Indians on White River. Capt. Lewis wrote you in answer two letters & sent them different routs accepting of your services and in his letter gave instructions in relation to the points at which he wished you to join him etc. He has never received an answer from you on this subject nor heard of your being at the points at which he wished you to join him. I am (one the official characters for the Enterprise) equally anxious with Captain Lewis that you should be one of our party & in the event of your accompanying us as an Intept^{r} we will give you 300 dollars a year and find you provisions & clothing.

Should you be willing to engage on those terms you had best come on immediately & join us at this place.

Captain Floyd the gentleman who will hand you this letter has promised to enquire particularly for you. He is a gentleman of great integrity in whom you may feel the most complete confidence.

20th August 1803

XXXI

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 102.]

WHEELING, September 8th 1803.

DEAR SIR: It was not untill 7 O'Clock on the morning of the 31st Ultmo that my boat was completed, she was instantly loaded, and at 10 A. M. on the same day I left Pittsburgh, where I had been moste shamefully detained by the unpardonable negligence of my boat builder. On my arrival at Pittsburgh, my calculation was that my boat would be in readiness by the 5th of August; this term however elapsed and the boat so far from being finished was only partially planked on one side; in this situation I had determined to abandon the boat, and to purchase two or three perogues and descend the river in them, and depend on purchasing a boat as I descended, there being none to be had at Pittsburgh; from this resolution I was dissuaded first by the representations of the best informed merchants of that place who assured me that the chances were much against my being able to procure a boat below; and secondly by the positive assureances given me by the boat-builder that she would be ready on the last of the then ensuing *week* (the 13th): however a few days after, according to his usual custom he got drunk, quarrelled with his workmen, and several of them left him, nor could they be prevailed on to return: I threatened him with the penalty of his contract, and exacted a promise of greater sobriety in future which, he took care to perform with as little good faith, as he had his previous promises with regard to the boat, continuing to be constantly either drunk or sick.

I spent most of my time with the workmen, alternately presuading and threatening, but neither threats, presuasion or any other means which I could devise were sufficient to procure the completion of the work sooner than the 31st of August; by which time the water was so low that those who pretended to be acquainted with the navigation of the river declared it impracticable to descend it; however in conformity to my previous determination I set out, having taken the precaution of

sending a part of my baggage by a waggon to this place, and also to procure a good pilot. my days journey have averaged about 12 miles, but in some instances, with every exertion I could make was unable to exceed 4½ & 5 miles p[r] day. This place is one hundred miles distant from Pittsburgh by way of the river and about sixty five by land

When the Ohio is in it's present state there are many obstructions to it's navigation formed by bars of small stones which in some instances are intermixed with, and partially cover large quntities of drift-wood; these bars frequently extend themselves entirely across the bed of the river, over many of them I found it impossible to pass even with my emty boat, without geting into the water and lifting her over by hand; over others my force was even inadequate to enable me to pass in this manner, and I found myself compelled to hire horses or oxen from the neighbouring farmers and drag her over them; in this way I have passed as many as five of those bars, (or as they are here called *riffles*) in a day, and to unload as many or more times. The river is lower than it has ever been known by the oldest settler in this country. I shall leave this place tomorrow morning, and loose no time in geting on.

I have been compelled to purchase a perogue at this place in order to transport the baggage which was sent by land from Pittsburgh, and also to lighten the boat as much as possible. On many bars the water in the deepest part dose not exceed six inches.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect regard and sincere attatchment,

Your Ob[t] Serv[t]

MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Capt. 1[st] U. S. Reg[t] Infty.

THOMAS JEFFERSON *President of the U States*

XXXII

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 103.]

On board my boat opposite Marietta, September 13th 1803.

Dear Sir: I arrived here at 7 P.M. and shall pursue my journey early tomorrow. This place is one hundred miles distant from Wheeling, from whence in descending the water is reather more abundant than it is between that place and Pittsburgh, insomuch that I have been enabled to get on without the necessity of employing oxen or horses to drag my boat over the riffles except in two instances; tho' I was obliged to cut a passage through four or five bars and by that means past them; this last operation is much more readily performed than you would imagin; the gravel of which many of these bars are formed, being small and lying in a loose state is readily removed with a spade, or even with a wooden shovel and when set in motion the current drives it a considerable distance before it subsides or again settles at the bottom; in this manner I have cut a passage for my boat of 50 yards in length in the course of an hour; this method however is impracticable when driftwood or clay in any quantity is intermixed with the gravel; in such cases Horses or oxen are the last resort; I find them the most efficient sailors in the present state of the navigation of this river, altho' they may be considered somewhat clumsey.

I have the honour to be with much respect, Your Obt Servt

Meriwether Lewis,

Capt. 1st U. S. Regt Infty.

Thomas Jefferson, *President of the U States.*

XXXIII

LEWIS TO CLARK

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

CINCINNATI, September 28 1803

DEAR CLARK: After a most tedious and laborious passage from Pittsburgh I have at length reached this place; it was not untill the 31st of August that I was enabled to take my departure from that place owing to the unpardonable negligence and inattention of the boat builders who, unfortunately for me, were a set of most incorrigible drunkards, and with whom, neither threats, intreaties nor any other mode of treatment which I could devise had any effect; as an instance of their tardyness it may serfice to mention that they were 12 days in preparing my poles and oars.

I here had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 21st of August & the 11th of Sept^r. I am much pleased with the measures you have taken relative to the engaging the men you mention, as men of that discription only will answer our purposes; I scarcely suppose that such as you have conceived not fully qualifyed for this service will by any means meet my approbation; your ideas in the subject of a judicious scelection of our party perfectly comport with my own. I have two young men with me whom I have taken on trial and have not yet engaged them, but conditionally only, tho' I think they will answer tolerably well; there are a party of soldiers, 6 or 8 in number, now at Massac waiting my arrival. They were scelected from the troops in the state of Tennessee by Maj^r MacRae, perhaps most of these will answer; I am also authorized to scelect by voluntary engagement any men from the Companys of Capt^s R & D Bissel's and Stoddart's now occupying the posts of Massac & Kaskaskias; from these I think we shall be enabled to form our party without much difficulty; 4 or five french water-men I conceive will be essential, this we can do I presume very readily at St. Louis.

The amount of the monthly compensation (or 10$) which you have

mention to the men is precisely what I have calculated on; I shall cloth and subsist the men I have with me, these will of course form a proper charge against the U. States and in addition to the monthly wages of a private will as estimated by the Secretary of War and myself amount to reather more than 10$ p^{r} month.

I do not much regret the loss of Mr. Connor for several reasons which I shall mention to you when we meet; he has deceived me very much.

It is probable before the receipt of this letter that I shall be with you; I shall leave this the day after to-morrow.

Adieu and believe me your very sincere friend and associate

MERIWETHER LEWIS

XXXIV

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 104.]

CINCINNATI, October 3rd 1803.

DEAR SIR: I reached this place on the 28th Ult., it being necessary to take in a further supply of provisions here, and finding my men much fatiegued with the labour to which they had been subjected in descending the river, I determined to recruit them by giving them a short respite of a few days; having now obtained the distance of five hundred miles. on the evening of the 1st inst I again dispatched my boat with orders to meet me at the Big Bone lick, to which place I shall pass by land it being distant from hence only seventeen miles while by water it is fifty three, a distance that will require my boat in the present state of the water near three days to attain.

The late researches of Dr William Goforth [1] of this place at that Lick has made it a place of more interesting enquiry than formerly, I shall therefore seize the present moment to visit it, and set out early tomorrow morning for that purpose.

Dr Goforth in the begining of May last with a view to obtain a complete skeleton of the Mammoth, sunk a pitt 30 feet square and eleven feet in debth in a moist part of the Big Bone Lick, from which he obtained a large number of specimens of the bones of this anamal, tho' generally in a very imperfect and mutilated state; he also obtained from the same pitt several grinders of the anamal, generally supposed to be an Elephant from their affinity to the teeth of that anamal, these last are very perfect; a part of this collection of bones, the Dr has in his possession at this place and has been so obliging as to favour me with

[1] Dr. William Goforth, a prominent physician, removed to Kentucky in 1788 and to Cincinnati in 1800. The explorations at Big Bone Lick were conducted at his own expense, and in the interests of science. He was later defrauded of the results of this effort by an Englishman who offered to place the remains of the mammoth in some European museum; but who sold and dispersed the fossils and then disappeared. — ED.

an examinetion of them; the other part of the Dr.s collection is yet at the Lick, these he informs me are much more perfect than those he shewed me particularly the *upper portion of a head*, and some other specimens which had been obtained from a small pitt, sunk in a dryer part of the Lick by a young [man] to whom, in his absence he had confided the prosecution of his researches; among these specimens the Dr. also mentioned a tusk of an immence size, the dementions of which he could not furnish me with, not having yet seen it, but from the information of his assistant, states it's weight at 180 lbs.; this tusk is said to be in a good state of preservation. The Dr. informed me that he had been interdicted by the Agent of Mr. David Ross of Virginia (the proprietor of the Lick) from removing these bones, as he was also from the further prosecution of his researches; he is much chagrined at this occurrence, and seems very anxious that some measures should be taken by which to induce Mr. Ross to suffer him to prosecute his enquiries. The Doctr. presented me with two handsome specimens, the one a grinder of the Elaphant, the other, that of the Mammoth, the former weighs ten and ½ pounds, the latter I have not weighed, from the circumstances of its roots being attached to a lump of clay, without seperating from which, it's weight could not be accurately ascertained; I concluded it would be better to forward it in it's present state, as the clay will not only guard this part of the tooth from injury in transporting it, but will at the same time furnish a good specimen of the earth of which the lick is formed. Dr. Goforth was so good as to grant me his permission to take from those bones now at the Lick the large tusk before noticed, and any other bones that are to be found among his collection at that place: Capt. Findley who accompanys me to the Lick says he is well acquainted with the Agent of Mr. Ross, and thinks he can obtain his permission also for the same purpose; should I succeed you may expect to recieve through Mr. Trist,[1] this large tusk together with the two grinders before mentioned, and such other specimines *as* I may be enabled to procure, and which, I may think worthy your acceptance.

All the bones, which I observed in the possession of Dr. Goforth appear to be those of the Mammoth, accept only the Elephant-like griners; the most remarkable among them was a portion of the lower or larger part of *a* tusk, measuring one foot ten inches in circumpher-

[1] Hore Browse Trist was the son of a neighbor of Jefferson's at Charlottesville, who was at this time taking up his residence in Mississippi Territory, having been appointed collector for the port of Fort Adams. Jefferson did not fulfil his intention of making him collector for New Orleans as expressed in doc. lv, *post*, but made him collector of the district of Mississippi, Feb. 24, 1804. — ED.

ence and five feet eight inches in length, the D[r] informed me when he first obtained it, it was upwards of six feet in length and weighed one hundred pounds; the greates circumpherence of the tusks of M[r] Peale's skeleton I believe is not more than one foot six ½ inches. As the anatomy of the Mammoth has already been so well ascertained by the skeleton in the possession of Mr. Peal (the upper portion of the head excepted) I confined my enquiries mearly to a search for this part of the skeleton, and for such specimens of the tusks as would enable me to deside a question which appears not yet fully to have been satisfyed (viz) Whether the flat or sythe-shaped tusks so frequently found in the same bed with the acknowledged tusks of the Mammoth are the tusks of that anamal, or a different one?

With regard to the first of these enquiries I was unsuccessfull, finding only one mutilated specimen of the upper portion of the head, the frontal bone of which was entirely decayed; I was therefore unable to form any just idea of it's shape; as to the second, I was more fortunate, obtaining many specimens of both the acknowledged Mammoth tusks, as well as those of the flat tusks, both in a sound and *an* imperfect state; these I compared with attention; but before I proceed to express an opinion with respect to the homogeniallogy of these tusks I will give a short description of these specimens, in order Sir, that you may from thence draw your own inferences, and make your own deductions.

The tusks of the Mammoth were conical, much Curved and also spiral or twisted; the fragments of whatever portion of the tusk were homologus to the same part of a complete tusk; when by decay the end of a section of any large part of the tusk was observed, the ends of the broken lateral stratas of the lamina, formed a number of circular rings, each imbracing and inclosing the other from the center to the circumpherence of the tusk, these rings howver, were of unequal thicknesses; when perfect the lamina assumes a yellowish white or cream colour, in it's decayed state it resembles white chalk, both in colour and consistance (see N[o] 2 spec[m] inclosed); the surface of the tusk sometimes assumes partially a black colour which from it's resemblance to the Buffalo Horn might on a slite examineation be taken for a similar substance, but on a more minute investigation it appears to be ivory, or the common lamina of the tusk, which, has acquired that colour from some cause, most probably, from the properties of the clay in which they had been so long deposited, this black Ivory (N[o] 2) is rarely more than two lines in thickness, gradually loossing it's hue inwards, untill it becomes the common colour of the tusk.

The flat or sythe-like tusks assumed a great variety of figures, tho'

uniformily curved; one was flat on both sides, near the large end of the tusk, where it was connected with the head; this was rendered conspicuous from the conic concavity common *to this part*, as well of the Mammoth, as these tusks at the larger end; and so much was it flatened, that this end of the tusk was left in a forked shape, while the smaller end assumed the curved, and connic shape, and was also spiral, as is that of the Mammoth: several were flated unequally on both sides near the small extremity of the tusk, the larger end being conical, curved, and spiral; while others were flat on one side only throughout the whole extent of the tusk; the lamina of these tusks, whether perfect, decayed or assuming the horn-like appearance, is the same substance precisely of the Mammoth tusk; in every instance where the tusk is flatened the circular rings of lamina are perfect when the diameter of those rings do not exceed the thickness of the tusk, which last I found unequal in the different specimens; and when the rings of lamina exceed the thickness of the tusk they are broken, but still we find the corresponding parts of these broken rings, attatched to either side of the perfect one, and succeeding each other throughout the whole width of the tusk; thus presenting the exact figure of the Mammoth's tusk reduced to a flat surface on both sides by being grownd down.

I also observed that several bones that were in a good state of preservation, appeared to have been woarn away in the same manner, or from the same cause, which had flattened the tusks, particularly a large grinder *of the Mammoth* which struck my attention, it was unconnected with the jawbone; one third of the volume, of this tooth seemed to have been woarn away, as if reduced on one side by being grown down to a plane surface; the enamel of the fractured edge appeared to have given way equally with the bone of the tooth and presented a smooth surface; no part of this tooth shewed any sharp fracture which, might induce a belief that it was reduced to it's present shape by a violent or sudden stroke.

Finding that the upper part of a tusk was flattened which shape it could not have acquired during the existence of the living anamal, it being that part of the tusk which by bone or cartilage must have been united with the head; that in every case where the *same* specimen united both the character of the Mammoth and flat tusk, that portion resembleing the Mammoth tusk was in all respects it's prototipe; that the tusk of the Mammoth is well defined, and that it's characteristics strongly mark it; that the lamina of both the flat and the conic tusks, are invariably the same in similar states of preservation; and *that* in all instances where the tusk is flattened the lateral lamina shews evedent

marks of violence, I can therefore have no remaining doubt of these *flat or sythe-like tusks* being the *tusks of the Mammoth;* and from the appearance of the flatten grinder of the Mammoth before noticed, I am strongly disposed to believe that these flat tusks of the Mammoth have acquired that shape in consequence of the sand and gravel passing over them for a great length of time caused by a runing stream or agitated water.

The Elephants teeth which I saw in the possession of Dr. Goforth weigh from four to eleven pounds, and appear to me to precisely resemble a specimen of these teeth which I saw in the possession of Dr. Wister of Philadelphia *and which* if my recollection serves me, Dr. Wister informed me was found in S. Carolina: the Dr. has since assured me, that from a comparison of this specimen with the plates representing the teeth of the Asiatic Elephat contained in the late Vol. of the British philosophical transactions, that he is perfectly convinced that it is the tooth of the Asiatic Elephant or an anamal very much resembling it. Relative to these teeth it may not be unworthy of remark, that so far as I have been able to inform myself, they are never found adjacent to the bones of any anamal of their comparative size except those of the Mammoth; or such as from their affinity to that anamal have always been admitted to be the bones of the Mammoth. These teeth are never found attatched to the bones of the jaw; and notwithstanding the high state of preservation in which those Elephant's teeth are found, that no other pat of it's fraim should yet have been discovered in America. From the shape and termination of both extremities of these grinders they each appear to have completely filled it's respective jaw-bone.

Not any of the bones or tusks which I saw were petrifyed, either preserving their primitive states of bone or ivory; or when decayed, the former desolving into earth, intermixed with scales of the harder of more indessoluble parts of the bone, while the latter assumed the appearance of pure white chalk.

I would thank you to forward me some of the Vaxcine matter, as I have reason to believe from seeveral experiments made with what I have, that it has lost it's virtue.

Conner, the interpretter I had calculated on engaging, has declined; however I do not feel much disappointment at this occurrence, being well assured that a suitable person of that discription can be procured at St. Louis.

So soon Sir, as you deem it expedient to promulge the late treaty, between the United States and France I would be much obliged by your

directing an official copy *of it* to be furnished me, as I think it probable that the present inhabitants of Louisiana, from such an evidence of their having become the Citizens of the United States, would feel it their interest and would more readily yeald any information of which they may be possessed relative to the country than they would be disposed to do, while there is any doubt remaining on that subject.

As this Session of Congress has commenced earlyer than usual, and as from a variety of incidental circumstances my progress has been unexpectedly delayed, and feeling as I do in the most anxious manner a wish to keep them in a good humour on the subject of the expedicion in which I am engaged, I have concluded to make a tour this winter on horseback of some hundred miles through the most interesting portion of the country adjoining my winter establishment; perhaps it may be up the Canceze River and towards Santafee, at all events it will bee on the South side of the Missouri. Should I find that M^r^. Clark can with propiety also leave the party, I will prevail upon him also to undertake a similar excurtion through some other portion of the country; by this means I hope and am pursuaded that by the middle of February or 1^st^ of March I shall be enabled to procure and forward to you such information relative to that Country, which, if it dose not produce a conviction of the utility of this project, will at least procure the further toleration of the expedition.

It will be better to forward *all* letters and papers for me in future to *Cahokia*.

The water still continues lower in the Ohio than it was ever known.

I am with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, Your Ob^t^ Serv^t^

MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Capt. 1^st^ U. S. Reg^t^ Infty.

The President of the United States

XXXV

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON[1] *TO CLARK*

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis]

VINCENNES 13th. Nov. 1803.

MY DEAR SIR — The map mentioned in your letter of the 5th. Instant had been taken from me by Mr. Jones who claimed it as the property of Mr. Hay of Cahokia but as it was still in the possession of Mr. Jones I have had it copied & now send it to you by the Post Rider whom I have been obliged to detain for that purpose, I hope it will arrive safe.[2]

Your offer to let me hear from you occasionally I accept with a great deal of pleasure & I beg of you to let know from Cahokia whether I can do any thing for you in y^r. absence.

The mail of last night brought us the information that the Senate had advised the ratification of the French Treaty, 24 to 7. There were 8 of the opposition present but Dayton voted with the Majority.

Give my respects to Capt. Lewis & ask him to spend a few days with me on his return. I am your friend.

WILL^M H. HARRISON

Capt^n W^m Clark.

[Addressed :] Captain William Clark or Captain Meriwether Lewis on their way up the Mississippi supposed to be at Cahokia

[Endorsed:] Gov. Harrison has sent by the post rider a map for Capt. Clark which Dr. Fisher will be so obliging as to forward to Cahokia with this letter.

[Written across one end :] 100 rations Bread & Med. 1050 Whiskey 1 Barrel extra.

[1] Harrison was (1801–13) governor of Indiana and superintendent of Indian affairs. — ED.

[2] Possibly the sketch given in our vol. i, p. 6, *ante*. — ED.

XXXVI

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 1, vol. 9, doc. 305.]

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16, 1803.

DEAR SIR: I have not written to you since the 11th & 18th of July, since which yours of July 15, 22, 23, Sept. 8, 13, & Oct. 3, have been recieved. The present has been long delayed by an expectation daily of getting the inclosed account of Louisiana through the press. the materials are recieved from different persons, of good authority. I enclose you also copies of the treaties for Louisiana, the act for taking possession, a letter from Dr. Wister, & some information obtained by myself from Printeau's journal in Ms. all of which may be useful to you. the act for taking possession passes with only some small verbal variations from that inclosed, of no consequence. orders went from hence signed by the King of Spain & the first Consul of France, so as to arrive at Natchez yesterday evening and we expect the delivery of the province at New Orleans will take place about the close of the ensuing week, say about the 25th inst. Govr Claiborne is appointed to execute the powers of Commandant & Intendant, until a regular government shall be organized here. at the moment of delivering over the posts in the vicinity of N. Orleans, orders will be dispatched from thence to those in Upper Louisiana to evacuate & to deliver them immediately. you can judge better than I can when they may be expected to arrive at these posts, considering how much you have been detained by low waters, how late it will be before you can leave Cahokia, how little progress up the Missouri you can make before the freezing of the river; that your winter might be passed in gaining much information by making Cahokia or Kaskaskia your head quarters, & going to St Louis & the other Spanish posts that your stores &c would thereby be spared for the winter, *as your men would draw their military rations*, all danger of Spanish opposition avoided. we are strongly of the opinion here that you had better not enter the Missouri until the spring, but as you have a view of all circumstances on the spot, we do not pretend to

enjoin it, but leave it to your own judgment in which we have entire confidence. one thing however we are decided in: that you must not undertake the winter excursion which you propose in yours of Oct. 3. such an excursion will be more dangerous than the main expedition up the Missouri, & would, by an accident to you, hazard our main object, which, since the acquisition of Louisiana, interests everybody in the highest degree. The object of your mission is single, the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri & perhaps the Oregon. By having mr. Clarke with you we consider the expedition double manned, & therefore the less liable to failure, for which reason neither of you should be exposed to risques by going off of your line. I have proposed in conversation, & it seems generally to be assented to, that Congress shall appropriate 10 or 12,000 D. for exploring the principal waters of the Missipi & Missouri. in that case I should send a part of the Red river to its head, then to cross over to the head of the Arcansa, & come down that. a 2.d party for the Pani & Padouca rivers, & a 3.d perhaps for the Moingona & S.t Peters. as the boundaries of interior Louisiana are *the high lands enclosing all the waters which run into the Missipi or Missouri directly or indirectly*, with a greater breadth on the Gulph of Mexico, it becomes interesting to fix with precision by celestial observations the longitude & latitude of the sources of these rivers, and furnishing points in the contour of our new limits. this will be attempted distinctly from your mission, which we consider as of major importance, & therefore not to be delayed or hazarded by any episodes whatever.

The votes of both houses on ratifying and carrying the treaties into execution have been precisely party votes, except that Gen.l Dayton has separated from his friends on these questions & voted for the treaties. I will direct the National Intelligencer to be forwarded to you for 6. months at Cahokia or Kaskaskia, on the presumption you will be there. our friends & acquaintances here & in Albermarle are all well as far as I have heard: and I recollect no other small news worth communicating; present my friendly salutations to mr. Clarke, & accept them affectionately yourself.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt. Lewis.

XXXVII

ETHNOLOGICAL INFORMATION DESIRED

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis. The handwriting is that of Clark, and apparently is a transcript of instructions from Jefferson.]

Inquiries relitive to the *Indians* of Louisiana.

1st *Physical History and Medicine*

What is their State of Life as to longivity?
at what age do both Sexes usially marry?
How long do the Woman usually succle their Children?
What is the diet of their Children after they wean them?
Is polygamy admited among them?
What is the State of the pulse in both Sexes, Children, grown persons, and in old age, by feeling the Pulse Morning, Noon & Night &c?
What is their most general diet, manner of cooking, time and manner of eating; and how doe they preserve their provisions?
What time do they generally consume in Sleep?
What are their *acute* diseases?
Is rheumatism, Pluricy, or *bilious fevers* known among them? & does the latter ever terminate in a vomiting of *black matter?*
What are their chronic diseases — are palsy, apoplexy, Epilepsy, Madness, the goiture (or Swelled Neck) and the Venereal disease known among them?
What is their mode of treating the *Small pox* particularly?
Have they any other disease amongst them, and what are they?
What are their remidies for their different diseases?
Are artificial discharges of blood used among them?
In what manner do they generally induce evacuation?
Do they ever use Voluntary fasting?
What is the nature of their baths, and at what time of the day do they generally use them?
at what age do their women begin and cease to menstruate?

2nd *Relative to Morrals*

What are the Vices most common among the Indians?

Do they ever resort to Suicide under the influence of their passions, particularly love?

Is murder common among them, and do their Laws punish it by Death?

Are the lives of the Wife and Children subject to the Capprice of the husband, and father, and in case of the murder by him of either do their Laws punish the Culprit with Death?

Can the crime of murder be paliated by precuniary Considerations?

do they use any liquor or Substitute to premote intoxication, besides ardent Spirits?

Are they much attached to Spiritous liquors, and is intoxication deemed a Crime among them?

Have they any and what are the *punishments* of Which their usuages admit of — for either crimes.

3rd *Relative to Religion*

What affinity is there between their religious ceremonies and those of the ancient Jews?

do they use animal sacrifices in their Worship?

What are the principal objects of their Worship?

Do they Consider *Mannatoe* or the *good Spirit & Michimannatoe* or the *bad Spirit* as two distinct powers, neither haveing the power of Controling the other?

Do they ever petition the *Good Spirit* to interfere with his power to avert or relieve them from the evils which the *bad Spirit* meditates or is practicing against them

Do they sacrifice to, or petition the *bad Spirit* in order to avert the pernicious design which they may conceive he has formed against them.

How do they dispose of their dead?

and with what ceremonies do they inter them?

do they ever use human sacrifices in any case

do they Mourn for their disceased friends and what [is] their cerimony on Such occasions.

4th *Traditions or National History*

From what quarter of the earth did they emigrate as related to them by their ansisters.

What the cause of their removal and the circumstancies attending their peregrination.

With what savage nations have they formed stricte allyance, or those of *offensive* and *Defensive* war

Have they any *Monuments* to perpetuate national events or the memory of a distinguished Chief — and if so what are they ?

5th *Agriculture and Domestic economy*

do they obtain by the Cultivation of the Soil their principal mantainence ?

what species of grain or pulse do they cultivate ?

what are their implements of husbandry, and in what manner do they use them ?

have they any domestic anamals & what are they ?

do their men engage in agriculture or any other domestic employments.

How do they prepare their culinary and other domistic utensils, and what are they ?

At what time do they usually relinquish their hunt and return to their Village ?

* What are the esculent plants, and how do they prepare them

* What are those that are Commonly used by them ?

In what form and of what materials are their Lodges or *Houses* usially built

Of what does the furniture of those lodges Consist, for the accommodation of the necessary avocations of human life *eating Drinking & Sleeping*

What materials compose, and in what form do they erect their temperary tents

do more that [than] one family inhabit the same lodge and in such case, is the furniture of the lodge considered as the common property of the inhabitants of it.

6th *Fishing & Hunting*

do those furnish their principal employment ?

do their [tear in MS. probably the word is women] participate in the fatigues of either ?

How do they persue, and how take their game ?

What are the employments used for those purposes, how prepare[d] & in what manner do they use them ?

How do they preserve, and how prepare the Skins & furs of their games when taken for raiment or for Market.

7th *War*

What is the cerimony of declareing war, and making peace; or forming alliancies?

What the cerimony of setting out and the return of the War Party?

do their women ever accompany them on those th[e]ir hostile experditions.

at what season of the year do they usially go to war?

In what manner are those War parties organized?

What is their Disipline and the regulations by which they are governed?

do they burn or torture their prisoners?

do they eat the flesh of their prisoners?

do they ever adopt their Prisoners as Members of their Nation?

What are their implements of war, how do they prepare and how use them?

8th *Amusements.*

Have they any and what are they?

do they with a view to amusement only make a feest

do they play at any games of risk, & what are they?

Have their women any games particularly to themselves, or do they ever engage in those common to the Men

do they ever dance and what is the cerimony of their Dance

Have they any music, and what are their musical instruments

9th *Clothing Dress & Orniments*

What garments do their dress usially Consist, in both Sexes?

What are the Shapes & Materials of those garments?

In what manner are they Worn?

What orniments do they use to decorate their person?

do they use paints of Various Colours on the surface of their Skins, and what are the most usial Colours thus used?

do they tattoe (or scarify) their bodys and on what parts?

do they imprint with the aids of a sharp pointed instrument and some colouring matter any figures on their Skins, and what are the part of the body on which they are usially imprinted.

Which are the usial figures?

Customs & Manners Generally

In what particularly do they differ from those nations in our neighbourhood.

Have they any & what are their festivals or feasts
What is the cerimony of reciving a Stranger at their Village?
When publickly recived at the Lodge of the Chief of the Village is there any Cerimony afterwards necessary to your admission in any other Lodge

Any information of the Indians of Louisiania so far as you may be inabled, at your Leasure dureing this winter either from Materials which may be in your possession, or Such as you may have it in your power to acquire would be most sinceerly acknowledged by me; the Interest you feel for the extention of General science would I have no doubt more than any other consideration form your inducement to comply with this request, and

XXXVIII

LEWIS TO CLARK

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

CAHOKIA December 17th 1803

DEAR CAPTAIN: Drewyer arrived here last evening from Tennissee with eight men. I do not know how they may answer on experiment but I am a little disappointed, in finding them not possessed of more of the requisite qualifications; there is not a hunter among them. I send you by Drewyer your cloaths portmanteau and a letter which I received from St. Louis for you and which did not reach me untill an hour after Floyd had set out. Drewyer and myself have made no positive bargain, I have offered him 25$ p^r^ month so long as he may chuise to continue with us. Among the party from Tennissee is a blacksmith and House-joiner — these may be of service in our present situation. If two men could be spared from building the hutts would it not be better to set them at sawing of boards. Hennebury informed me that he would be at Morrison's farm to-day or To-morrow, and that he knew a person in the neighbourhood who had a whip-saw, and that he would go with any person you might send to this gentleman and prevail on him to let us have the uce of the saw. You can obtain corn for the horses by application to Hennebury or any person who has the care of Morrison's farm.

I shall be obliged to go by St. Louis but will be with you as soon as possible.

Adieu and believe sincerely your friend & ob^t^ serv^t^

M. LEWIS

XXXIX

LEWIS TO AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

[From Billon's *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), pp. 384, 385.]

St. Louis, Jan'y 4, 1804.

Sir: I have taken the liberty to add to this, additional questions of a mixed nature relating to Upper Louisiana, your answers to which will be extremely gratifying, and very gratefully acknowledged.

Your friend and Ob't Servant,

Meriwether Lewis,
Capt. 1st U. S. Regt. Infy.

Mr. Aug's. Chouteau,

Mixed questions relating to Upper Louisiana.

1. What is the present population?

2. What is the number of Emigrants from the United States into this country since the last year, ending Oct. 31, 1803, and what is the proportion of this kind of people, to the other free white population of Upper Louisiana?

3. What number of slaves and other people of colour?

4. What is the quantity of land granted, or which is claimed by individuals? The nature of the right, or pretensions by which the present possessors hold these lands? and the probable proportions of the whole amount which is separately held by these respective titles?

5. What is the condition of the inhabitants in general in regard to wealth? and what kind of property generally constitutes that wealth?

6. What is the situation and extent of the several settlements? and what is the prospect of each to become the most peopled? that is to say (allowing as a rule a family for each mile square) what proportion does the remaining population of each settlement bear to the remaining number of square miles she contains.

7. What is the condition of Agriculture? and what improvements, and to what extent, have been made on newly inhabited lands?

8. What is the probable amount in dollars of goods annually brought into Upper Louisiana? What proportion of them is intended for the consumption of her people, and what proportion for her Indian Trade? What proportion of all her entries arrives by way of Canada, New Orleans, or the United States?

9. What is the amount in dollars of the annual exports of Upper Louisiana? Of what articles do they consist in, and what proportion goes out by each of the routes, Canada, New Orleans, or the United States?

10. What are the names and nick-names of all the villages of Upper Louisiana? Where are they situated? When established, and the number of houses and people they contain at present?

11. What are your mines and minerals? Have you lead, iron, copper, pewter, gypsum, salts, salines, or other mineral waters, nitre, stone-coal, marble, lime-stone, or any other mineral substance? Where are they situated, and in what quantities found?

12. Which of those mines or salt springs are worked? and what quantity of metal or salt is annually produced?

13. What are the animals, birds and fish of Louisiana? and what their form, appearance, habits, dispositions, of those especially that are not abundant in the inhabited parts of the country?

M. L.

XL

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 1, vol. 10, doc. 1.]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1804.

DEAR SIR: I wrote you last on the 16th. of Nov. since which I have recieved no letter from you. the newspapers inform us you left Kaskaskia about the 8th. of December. I hope you will have recieved my letter by that day, or very soon after; *written in a* belief it would be better that you should not enter the Missouri till the spring; yet not absolutly controuling your own judgment formed on the spot. we have not heard of the delivery of Louisiana to us as yet, tho' we have no doubt it took place about the 20th. of December, and that orders were at the same time expedited to evacuate the upper posts, troops of ours being in readiness & under orders to take possession. the change will probably have taken place before you recieve this letter, and facilitate your proceeding. I now inclose you a map of the Missouri as far as the Mendans, 12 or 1500 miles I presume above it's mouth. it is said to be very accurate having been done by a mr Evans by order of the Spanish government, but whether he corrected by astronomical observation or not we are not informed. I hope this will reach you before your final departure. the acquisition of the country through which you are to pass has inspired the public generally with a great deal of interest in your enterprise. the enquiries are perpetual as to your progress. The Fed.[eralists] alone still treat it as philosophism and would rejoice in it's failure. their bitterness increases with the diminution of their numbers and despair of a resurrection. I hope you will take care of yourself, and be the living witness of their malice and folly. present my salutations to mr Clarke, assure all your party that we have our eyes turned on them with anxiety for their safety & the success of their enterprise. accept yourself assurances of sincere esteem & attachment.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

XLI

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 1, vol. 10, doc. 8.]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1804.

DEAR SIR: My letters since your departure have been July 11 & 15, Nov. 16, and Jan. 13, yours recieved are of July 8, 15, 22, 25, Sept. 25, 30, & Oct. 3, since the date of the last we have no certain information of your movements, with mine of Nov. 16, I sent you some extracts made by myself from the journal of the agent of the trading company of S^{t} Louis up the Missouri. I now inclose a translation of that journal in full for your information. in that of the 13th inst. I inclosed you the map of a mr Evans, a Welshman, employed by the Spanish government for that purpose, but whose original object I believe had been to go in search of the Welsh Indians said to be up the Missouri. on this subject a mr Rees of the same nation established in the Western part of Pennsylvania, will write to you. N. Orleans was delivered to us on the 20th of Dec. and our garrisons & government established there. the order for the delivery of the Upper posts were to leave N. Orleans on the 28th and we presume all those posts will be occupied by our troops by the last day of the present month. when your instructions were penned, this new position was not so authentically known as to effect the complection of your instructions. being now become sovereigns of the country, without however any diminution of the Indian rights of occupency we are authorised to propose to them in direct terms the institution of commerce with them. it will now be proper you should inform those through whose country you will pass, or whom you may meet, that their late fathers, the Spaniards have agreed to withdraw all their troops from all the waters & country of the Missisipi and Missouri, that they have surrendered to us all their subjects Spanish and French settled there, and all their posts & lands: that henceforward we become their fathers and friends, and that we shall endeavor that they shall have no cause to lament the change: that we have sent you to enquire into the nature of the country & the

nations inhabiting it, to know at what places and times we must establish stores of goods among them, to exchange for their peltries : that as soon as you return with the necessary information we shall prepare supplies of goods and persons to carry them and make the proper establishments : that in the meantime, the same traders who reside among or visit them, and who are now a part of us, will continue to supply them as usual : that we shall endeavor to become acquainted with them as soon as possible and that they will find in us faithful friends and protectors. although you will pass through no settlements of the Sioux (except seceders) yet you will probably meet with parties of them. on that nation we wish most particularly to make a friendly impression, because of their immense power, and because we learn they are very desirous of being on the most friendly terms with us.

I inclose you a letter which I believe is from some one on the part of the Philosophical society. they have made you a member, and your diploma is lodged with me : but I suppose it safest to keep it here & not to send it after you. mr Harvie departs tomorrow for France as the bearer of the Louisiana stock to Paris. Cap^{t} William Trent takes his place with me. Congress will probably continue in session through the month of March. your friends here and in Albemarle as far as I recollect are well. Trist will be the Collector of N. Orleans, & his family will go to him in the spring. D^{r} Bache[1] is now in Philadelphia & probably will not return to N. Orleans.

Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of affectionate esteem & respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

[1] This was either Richard Bache, son-in-law of Benjamin Franklin, or one of his sons, possibly William Bache. — ED.

XLII

LEWIS TO CLARK

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.

Camp at River Dubois Febr 18th 1804

My Dear Friend: Not anything of moment has occurred since you left us. My detention has been caused by a visitation on the 13th & 14 inst. from a principal Chief of the Kickapoo nation, whom I have been anxious to see for some time past for several reasons, as also the arrival of the contractor with whom some little arrangements were necessary; being disappointed in geting down to the ball on the 14th and finding more to do when I began to look about me than I had previously thought of I determined it would be as well to go to work and postpone my visit to Cahokia & St. Louis a few days.

If Mr. Manuel [Lisa] will let us have the men you mention, pray engage them immediately, if you think from their appearance and characters they will answer the purpose.

My complyments to Mr. C. Chouteau and inform him if you pleasce that nothing has given me more pleasure than the proposition he has made to you on the subject of the Osages — that as he wishes every circumstance in relation to this affair shall be kept a profount secret. I wish him not only to bring in some of those Chiefs (the number hereafter to be agreed on) but wish him to attend them to the seat of the Government of the U. States provided he can make it convenient to do so; I presume the Chiefs would come more readily provided Mr. Chouteau would make them a promise to that effect; I am as anxious as Mr. C. can be that he should set out on this mission as early as possible, and shall therefore be with you the day after tomorrow for the purpose of conscerting the necessary measures. My complyments to the Govr, Lassuse and Monsr Dabuke & Monsrs Gratiott and A. Chouteau — not forgeting my most profound respects to *Moam Manuel.*

I am with the most sincere respect your friend

M. Lewis Capt. etc.

XLIII

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 106.]

S^{T} Louis, March 26th 1804.

Dear Sir: I send you herewith inclosed, some slips of the Osages *Plum*, and *Apple*. I fear the season is too far advanced for their success. had I earlyer learnt that these fruits were in the neighbourhood, they would have been forwarded at a more proper time. I would thank you to send a part of them to Mess^{rs} John Mason, & William Hamilton. should they not succeed, M^{r} Charles Gratiot, a gentleman of this place, has promised me that he would with pleasure attend to the orders of yourself, or any of my acquaintancies, who may think proper to write him on the subject. M^{r} Gratiot can obtain the young plants at the proper season, and send them very readily to Mr. Trist if requested to do so. I obtained the cuttings, now sent you, from the garden of Mr. Peter Choteau, who resided the greater portion of his time for many years with the Osage nation. it is from this gentleman, that I obtained the information I possess with respect to these fruits.

The Osage's *Plum* appears to be a native of the country bo[r]dering on the vilages of that nation, situated on the Osage river, a south branch of the Missouri, about two hundred and sixty miles *West* from S^{t} Louis. the shrub, which produces this fruit is remakably small, seldom rising to a greater hight than five feet; it is much branc[h]ed and the smaller boughs are armed with long thorn-like or pinated twigs; in their native state they grow very thickly together, and I think from their appearance. might with a little attention, be made to form an ornimental and use-full hedg. they produce their fruit every year, and generally in great abundance. the fruit is a large oval plum, of a pale yellow colour and exquisite flavor. with other fruits of this family it's matrix is comparitively small; it comes to maturity about the begining of July, and begins to ripen in succession on the same plant until the 20th or last of that month.

The *Osage Apple* is a native of the interior of the continent of North America, and is perhaps a nondiscript production, the information I have obtained with respect to it is not so minute as I could wish, nor such as will enable me to discribe it in a satisfactory manner. Mr. Peter Coteau, who first introduced this tree in the neighbourhood of St. Louis, about five years since, informed me, that he obtained the young plants at the great Osage vilage from an Indian of that nation, who said he procured them about three hundred miles west of that place. the general contour of this tree, is very much that of the *black haw*, common to most parts of the U States, with these diferences however, that the bark is of a lighter colour, less branced and arrives to a larger size, somtimes rising to the hight of thirty feet. it's smaller branches are armed with many single, long, & sharp, pinated thorns. the particular form of the leaf or flower I have been unable to learn. so much do the savages esteem the wood of this tree, for the purpose of making their bows, that they travel many hundred miles in quest of it. The particulars with respect to the fruit, is taken principally from the Indian discription ; — my informant never having seen but one specimen of it, which was not full ripe, and much shrivled and mutilated before he saw it. the Indians give an extravigant account of the exquisite odour of this fruit when it has obtained maturity, which takes place the latter end of summer, or the begining of Autumn. they state, that at this season they can always tell by the scent of the fruit when they arrive in the neighbourhod of the tree, and usually take advantage of this season to obtain the wood; *as* it appears not be a very abundant growth, even in the country where it is to be found an opinion prevails among the Osages, that the fruit is poisonous, tho' they acknowledge they have never tasted it. They say that many anamals feed on it, and among others, a large species of *Hare*,* which abounds in that country. This fruit is the size of the largest orange, of a globular form, and a fine orange colour. the pulp is contained in a number of conacal pustules, covered with a smooth membranous rind, having their smaller extremities attached to the matrix, from which they project in every direction, in such manner, as to form a compact figure. the form and consistancy of the *matrix* and *germ*, I have not been able to learn. the trees which are in the possession of Mr. Choteau have as yet produced neither flowers nor fruit. —

* From the discription of this anamal, it is in point of colour, figure and habbits very much the same species with the European Hare, and is as large, if not larger than that anamal. this large hare of America, is found on the upper part of the Arkansas River, and in the country

lying from thence South, and West, to the mountains which seperate us from New Mexico, it is said to be remarkably fleet, and hard to be overtaken *on horseback* even in their open plains.—

I have the honour to be with sincere esteem Your Obᵗ Servᵗ

MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Capt. 1ˢᵗ U. S. Regᵗ Infty.

The President of the U' States.

XLIV

SERGEANT JOHN ORDWAY TO HIS PARENTS

[Original MS. in possession of his grand-niece, Mrs. E. Ordway, whose transcript is here followed. Apparently the original has been closely adhered to.]

Camp River Dubois April the 8th 1804

Honored Parents: I now embrace this oportunity of writing to you once more to let you know where I am and where I am going. I am well thank God and in high Spirits. I am now on an expedition to the westward, with Capt Lewis and Capt Clark, who are appointed by the President of the united States to go on an Expedition through the interior parts of North America, we are to ascend the Missouri River with a boat as far as it is navigable and then go by land to the western ocean, if nothing prevents. This party consists of 25 picked men of the armey and country likewise and I am so happy as to be one of them picked men from the armey and I and all the party are if we live to return to receive our discharge when ever we return again to the united States if we choose it. This place is on the Mississippi River opposite to the mouth of the Missouri River and we are to start in ten days up the Missouri River, this has been our winter quarters, we expect to be gone 18 months or two years, we are to receive a great reward for this expedition 15 dollars a month and at least 400 ackers of first rate land and if we make great discoveries as we expect the united States has promised to make us great rewards, more than we are promised, for fear of accidents I wish to inform you that [then follow personal matters].

I have received no letters since Betseys yet but will write next winter if I have a chance.

Yours &c John Ordway Segt.

XLV

LEWIS TO CLARK

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

St. Louis May 2nd 1804

Dear friend: I cannot hear of or find the *hair pipes*. The articles you sent by Serg^{t} Floyd wer duly received. The mail has not arrived. The Osages will set out about the 10th I return you the memorandum you inclosed me with remarks on several particulars therein contained. I send you 19 small flaggs, 16 musquetoe nets and our shirts — pray send down as soon as possible 13 Ells of the brown linin purchased of Morrison to replace that quantity borrowed of Mr. Gratiott, also the case with the maps, and the specimines of salt which you will find in my writing desk, on the shelves where our books are, or in the drawer of the instrument case.

The pay of the men will commence from the dates of their last inlistments and will be made up to the last of November 1804 at the regular wages of soldiers & Serg$^{ts.}$ &c — including the bounty of such as are intitled to it which is not the case with those whose former inlistments did not expire before the said 31st of November. Other receipt rolls will be made out for 5 dollars pr month as an advance on the score of Cloathing and provisions not furnished by the government — this to commence with those inlisted in Kentucky from the dates of their inlistments, all others from the 1st of January 1804. Mr. Choteau has procured seven engaged to go as far as the Mandanes — but they will not agree to go further, and I found it impossible to reduce them to any other engagement than that usually made with those people.

Your sincere friend

M. Lewis in haist

XLVI

ARTICLES FORWARDED TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. by Lewis, in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 105.]

SAINT LOUIS, May 18th 1804

The following is a list of Articles forwarded you by Mr Peter Chouteau.

Minerals

Nº 1. A specimen of Silver Oar from Mexico
Nº 2. ditto of lead, supposed to contain a considerable quantity of Silver, — from Mexico
Nº 3. An elegant Specimen of Rock Chrystal, also from Mexico —

} These were presented me by Mr Peter Chouteau, who received them from the Osage Indians. They having collected them in some of their War excursions into that Country.

Nos 4. & 5. Specimens of led Oar from the Bed of the Osage River . . . . . .

Nos 6, 7–8–9–10–11–12 14–& 15. Specimens of led oar from the mine of Berton, Situate on the Marimec River, now more extensively Wrought than any other led Mine in Louisiana

} Presented by Mr Boilevin and Mr Peter Chouteau

Miscellanious Articles ——

A horned Lizzard, a native of the Osage Plains, on the Waters of the Arkansas River, from five to six hundred miles West of Saint Louis, in a small Trunk —

} presented by Mrs Charles Gratiott

A Specimen of Salt formed by concretion, procured at the great Saline of the Osage Nation, Situate on a Southern branch of the Arkansas River, about six hundred Miles West of St Louis. ——

} presented by Mr August Chouteau

Maps &c

A Chart of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Missouri, to New Orleans compiled from the observations of Mr August [Chouteau? MS. trimmed off at this point. — ED.]

} August.

XLVII

CLARK TO MAJOR WILLIAM CROGHAN[1]

[From transcript furnished by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, Oregon City, Oregon.]

ST. CHARLES, May 21, 1804.

DEAR SIR: By Captain Lewis who arrived from St. Louis today I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 2nd inst. and am happy to hear of the recovery of your family and my brother whom I was much concerned about. I am sorry to hear that the negroes of the estate of Wm. Thruston's hired so low, perhaps they may hire for more the next year. My friend Captain Lewis expressed some sorrow that you happened not to be at home at the time he passed down, but hopes to see you on his return to the United States. As to myself I have and shall always have that brotherly affection for you which you are well assured I always professed and hope in less than two years to see you and that family of yours whom I have every affection for, at your own home. My route is uncertain. I think it more than probable that Captain Lewis or myself will return by sea, the other by the same route we proceed. the time is uncertain, all the alterations which I did not inform you of have been made since I saw you and the law authorizing the president to explore the country &c. has just come to my knowledge. I have been at this place five days waiting for Captain Lewis who has been detained at St. Louis to fix off the Osage chiefs. he has just arrived and we shall leave this village immediately and proceed on our journey. We have had a great deal of rain, thunder and lightning, with wind for several days, past which discommodes us a little in setting out.

The politeness of the gentlemen of the place and about 12 or 15 who came from St. Louis to see us set out and are constantly with us

[1] Major William Croghan, a native of Ireland, who came to the United States, espoused the patriot cause, and served in the Revolutionary War. He married Lucy Clark, sister of William, and removing to Kentucky settled near Louisville on an estate known as "Locust Grove." — ED.

prevents me giving you at this time a description of the country, river or the occurrences which have or may happen.

Captain Lewis joins me in this most sincere wish for your, my sister and the families health and happiness for many years.

With every sentiment, Your sincere friend,

WM. CLARK.

XLVIII

INDIAN SPEECHES AND DATA

[From original MSS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis. Loose sheets in Clark's handwriting, interesting as notes evidently taken during the progress of councils, and afterwards expanded in the text of the journals.]

(Ricary)

October the 11th Thursday 1804 we met in Council to hear what the Grand Chief *Kakawissassa* had to say in answer to the speech of yesterday.[1]

The Grand Chief rose and spoke as follows i, e. *My* Fathers! My heart is glader than it ever was before to see my fathers. a *repetition.* If you want the road open no one can provent it It will always be open for you. Can you think any one Dare put their hands on your rope of your boat.[2] No! not one dar When you get to the Mandans we wish you to speak good words with that nation for us. We wish to be at peace with them. It gives us pain that we do not know how to work the Beaver. We will make Buffalow roabs the best we can. When you return if I am living you will see me again the same man. The Indian in the prarie know me and listen to my words, when you [come] they will meet to see you. We shall look at the river with impatience for your return. Finishd

2nd Chief Ricarey[3]

My Father, I am glad to see this is a fine Day to here [hear] the good Councils & talk good talk. I am glad to See you & that your intentions are to open the road for all We See that our Grand [great] father has sent you to open the roads we See it Our Grand father by sending you means to take pity on us Our Grand father has sent you with

[1] See our vol. i, pp. 185, 186, where the name of this chief and the substance of his speech are given. Clark evidently wrote out the words as reported to him by the interpreter. — ED.

[2] Referring no doubt to the previous attempts of the Teton Sioux to stop the expedition. See our vol. i, pp. 165, 171. — ED.

[3] The following speech was addressed to the explorers on Oct. 12, 1804. Clark gives the substance of it in his diary for that day; see our vol. i, p. 187. — ED.

tobacco to make peace with all nations, we think [we are] The first nation who has recommended the road to be clear and open. You come here & have Directed all nations which you have met to open & clear the road. If you come to see the Water & roads to clear them as clear as possible You just now come to see us, & we wish you to tell our Grand fa^r that we wish the road to be kept clear & open I expect the Chief in the next Town will tell you the same to move on & open the road I think when you have saw the nation below the[y] wish you to open the road, or something to that amount When you pass'd the Souix they told you the same I expect. We See you here to day we are pore our women have no strouds[1] & knives to Cut their meats take pitty on us when you return You Come here & Derect us to stay at home & not to go to war, we shall do so, we hope you will when you get to the *Mandins* you will tell them the same & cleer the road, no one Dar to stop you, you go when you please, you tell us to go down, we will go and see our grand father & here & receve his gifts, and think fully that our nation will be covered after our return, our people will look for us with the same impatience that our Grand father looks for your return, to Give him. If I am going to See my grand father many bad nations on the road, I am not afraid to Die for the good of my people (all Cried around him.) The Chief By me will go to the Mandans & hear what they will Say. (we agreed) The verry moment we Set out to go down we will send out my Brother to bring all the Nation in the open prarie to see me part on this great mission to see my Great father Our people hunters shall be glad to here of your being here & they will all come to see as you Cannot stay they must wate for your return to see you. We are pore take pity on our wants.

The road is for you all to go on who do you think will injure a white man when they come to exchange for our Roabes & Beaver After you set out many nations in the open plains may come to make war against us, we wish you to stop their guns & prevent it if possible. (Finished)

3^d Chief of Ricares.[2]

My father — I will see the Indians below & see if they have the hart as they tell you. The nation below is the Mandan Maha & Otteau but one nation, the Souix has not a good heart I always look at the 1^t Chief & the 2^d where they go I will also follow ther example

[1] Strouds was a kind of coarse cloth used in the Indian trade. — Ed.

[2] For an account of the delivery of this speech, see vol. i, pp. 187, 188. — Ed.

& go on also. You see those 2 men they are chiefs, when I go they will take care, they beleve your words. Mabie we will not tell the trooth as to the Child perhaps they will not wish to go. My Childen the old women & men when I return I can then give them, some a knife some powder & others Ballse. What is the matter if we was to go for nothing my great Chief wish to go, I wish to go also. When I go to See my Grand father I wish to return sune for fear of my people being uneasy. My children are small & perhaps will be uneasy when I may be safe. I must go. I also wish to go, perhaps I may when I return make my people glad.

I will Stay at home & not go to War even if my people are struck We will believ your word but I fear the Indians above will not believe your word. I will think that ½ of the men who will return will stay in this Village ½ below in the other villages.

What did the Seaus tell you (We informed them)

Ricare Name for Dif[t] Nations.[1]

Shar ha or Dog [Cheyenne] Indians 3 in the open Prarie Work Ki a wah Kun na war wish Wa na sar wer War too che work koo Au nah how Te pah cus Car tar kah All those nations live the West & South West of the Rickery nation.

Mandans.

Ka gar no mogh ge[2] the 2[d] Chief of the 2[d] Village of Mandam came the 30[t] of Oct. and spoke to us as follows. Viz Will you be so good as to go to the Village the Grand Chief will speek and give some corn, if you will let some men take bags it will be well. I am going with the Chief of the ricares to smoke a pipe with that nation I concluded to go down.[3]

Mockeson Indians[4]

The principal Chief of the *Wau te soon* came and spoke a fiew words on Varios subjects not much to the purpose. We smoked and after my shooting the air gun he departed. Those nations know nothing of regular councils, and know not how to proceed in them, they are useless.

[1] Compare with this list, that of Clark given in vol. i, p. 190. — Ed.

[2] The Raven; see vol. i, pp. 212, 213. According to Clark's entry for this date, this chief had been hunting at the time of the council on the twenty-ninth, and came to present himself October 30. — Ed.

[3] See vol. i, p. 216, for the departure of the Arikara chief, accompanied by one Mandan. — Ed.

[4] The Gens de Soulier or Wetersoon Indians; see vol. i, p. 208. — Ed.

Black Cat or Pose. cop-sa-he! 1st Chief of the Mandans & [chief of] 2d Village.[1]

"I believe what you have told us in Council, & that peace will be general, which not only givs me pleasure, but satisfaction to all the nation, thy now can hunt without fear, and our women can work in the fields without looking everry moment for the enimey" as to the *Ricares* we will show you that we wish piace with all, and do not make [war] on any with out cause, that Chief (pointing to the 2d of the Village) and some young men will accompany the Ricrea Chief home to his Nation to smoke with that people. When the Indian of the Different Villages heard of your comeing up they all came in from hunting to see they expected Great presents. they were disapointed and some dissatisfied. as to my self I am not much so, but my village are – He believed the roade was open: and he would go and See his great father. he Delivered up 2 Traps which had been taken from the french, & gave me a roabe & about 12 bushels of corn & smoked.

I answered the speech as explained, many parts which he could not understand — of the speech of yesterday.

The 1 of Nov. *Mandins 1st Village*[2]

The Main Chief Big White & 2 others i. e. the Big Man or *Sha-ha-ca* and *Oh-hee-nar* came early to talk, and spoke as follows, after smoking viz.

Is it certain that the ricares intend to make good [peace] with us our wish is to be at peace with all, we will send a Chief with the pania Chief and some young men to smoke and make good peace? are you going to stay abov or below [during] this Cold [season?] answer by C.[aptain] L We are going down a few miles to look [for] a place we can find no place abov proper

The panias know's we do not begin the war, they allway begin, we sent a Chief and a pipe to the Pania to smoke and they killed them. We have killed enough of them We kill them like the birds, we do not wish to kill more, we will, make a good peace

We were sorry when we heard of your going up but now you are going down, we are glad, if we eat you shall eat, if we Starve you must Starve also, our village is too far to bring the corn to you, but we hope you will call on us as you pass to the place you intend to stop. *C[aptain] L[ewis]* answered the above.

[1] For this speech consult our vol. i, pp. 214, 215. — ED.

[2] For the occasion of this speech of Shahaka (Big White), see our vol. i, p. 215. — ED.

XLIX

LEWIS AND CLARK TO THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

[Letter sent by Lewis and Clark through Hugh M'Cracken, the trader met at the Mandan villages. The original came into the possession of Roderic McKenzie, of Assiniboin; he sent a copy to Jason Chamberlain, of the University of Vermont, who in February, 1812, forwarded it to the editor of the Philadelphia *Portfolio*, in which it was published in May following — vol. vii, no. 5, pp. 448, 449. Obviously, the document as published has been editorially "improved" over the original.]

UPPER MANDANE VILLAGE, Oct. 31, 1804.

To Charles Chaboiller, Esq. of the N. W. Co.

SIR: On our arrival at this Mandane Village, the 26th instant, we met with Mr. Hugh M'Crachen, who informed us that he was in some measure employed by you in behalf of the North West Company, to traffic with the natives of this quarter; the return of the man to your parts affords us the means of making, thus early, the present communication; the contents of which we would thank you to make known, as early as possible, to those engaged, and traders immediately under your direction, as also, if convenient, to the principal representatives of any other company of his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who may reside or trade in this quarter.

We have been commissioned and sent by the government of the United States for the purpose of exploring the river Missouri, and the western parts of the continent of North America, with a view to the promotion of general science. Your government have been advised of the voyage and its objects, as the enclosed copy of a passport, granted by Mr. Edward Thornton, his Britannic Majesty's charge d'affaires to the United States, will evidence.

The cold season having now nearly arrived, we have determined to fortify ourselves, and remain the ensuing winter, in the neighbourhood of this place. During our residence here, or future progress on our voyage, we calculate that the injunctions contained in the passport before mentioned will, with respect to ourselves, govern the conduct of such of his Brintannic Majesty's subjects as may be within communicative reach of us. As individuals, we feel every disposition to cultivate

the friendship of all well-disposed persons; and all that we have at this moment to ask of them, is a mutual exchange of good offices. We shall, at all times, extend our protection as well to British subjects as American citizens, who may visit the Indians of our neighbourhood, provided they are well-disposed; this we are disposed to do, as well from the pleasure we feel in becoming serviceable to good men, as from a conviction that it is consonant with the liberal policy of our government, not only to admit within her territory the free egress and regress of all citizens and subjects of foreign powers with which she is in amity, but also to extend to them her protection, while within the limits of her jurisdiction.

If, sir, in the course of the winter, you have it in your power to furnish us with any hints in relation to the geography of the country, its productions, either mineral, animal, or vegetable, or any other information which you might conceive of utility to mankind, or which might be serviceable to us in the prosecution of our voyage, we should feel ourselves extremely obliged by your furnishing us with it.

We are, with much respect, Your ob't. serv'ts.

MERIWETHER LEWIS, Capt. 1st U. S. R[.egt.] Inf.
WILLIAM CLARK, Capt. [2d. Lt. U. S. Artillerists]

L

LEWIS TO HIS MOTHER

[Original MS. is in possession of the oldest living representative of Meriwether Lewis's family, C. Harper Anderson, of Ivy Depot, Virginia. The following is from his transcript thereof, which has evidently been modernized in several particulars.]

FORT MANDAN, 1609 MILES ABOVE THE ENTRANCE OF THE MISSOURI —
March 31st., 1805.

DEAR MOTHER:—I arrived at this place on the 27th. of Oct. last, with party under my command destined to the Pacific Ocean, by way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers. The near approach of winter, the low state of the water and the known scarcity of timber which exists on the Missouri for many hundred miles above the Mandans, together with many other considerations equally important, determined my friend and companion Capt. Clark and myself to fortify ourselves and remain for the winter in the neighborhood of the Mandans, Minetares and Ahwaharways, who are the most friendly and well disposed savages that we have yet met with. Accordingly we sought and found a convenient situation for our purposes a few miles below the villages of these people on the north side of the river in an extensive and well timbered bottom, where we commenced the erection of our houses on the 2d. of Nov. and completed them so far as to put ourselves under shelter on the 21st. of the same month, by which time the season wore the aspect of winter. Having completed our fortify[cation] early in Dec. we called it Fort Mandan, in honor of our friendly neighbors. So far we have experienced more difficulties from the navigation of the Missouri than danger from the savages. The difficulties which oppose themselves to the navigation of this immense river arise from the rapidity of its currents, its falling banks, sand bars and timber which remains wholly or partially concealed in its bed, usually called by the navigators of the Missouri, and the Mississippi "sawyer" or "planter," one of these difficulties the navigator never ceases to contend with from the entrance of the Missouri to this place; and in innumerable instances most of these obstructions are at the same instant combined to oppose

his progress or threaten his destruction. To these we may also add a fifth, and not much less inconsiderable difficulty — the turbed quality of the water — which renders it impracticable to discover any obstruction, even to the depth of a single inch. Such is the velocity of the current at all seasons of the year, from the entrance of the Missouri to the mouth of the great river Platte, that it is impossible to resist its force by means of oars or poles in the main channel of the river; the eddies which therefore generally exist on one side or the other of the river, are sought by the navigators, but these are almost universally encumbered with concealed timber, or within reach of the falling banks, but notwithstanding, are usually preferable to that of passing along the edges of the sand bars, over which the water, tho' shallow, runs with such violence that if your vessel happens to touch the sand, or is by any accident turned sidewise to the current, it is driven on the bar and overset in an instant, generally destroyed, and always attented with the loss of the cargo. The base of the river banks being composed of a fine light sand, is easily removed by the water. It happens when this capricious and violent currents set against its banks, which are usually covered with heavy timber, it quickly undermines them, sometimes to the depth of 40 or 50 paces, and several miles in length. The banks being unable to support themselves longer tumble into the river with tremendous force, destroying everything within their reach. The timber thus precipitated into the water with large masses of earth about their roots are seen drifting with the stream, their points above the water, while the roots, more heavy, are dragged along the bottom until they become firmly fixed in the quick sand, which forms the bed of the river, where they remain for many years, forming an irregular tho' dangerous chevaux-de-frise to oppose the navigator. This immense river, so far as we have yet ascended, waters one of the fairest portions of the globe, nor do I believe there is in the universe a similar extent of country equally fertile, well watered, and intersected by such a number of navigable streams. The country as high up the river as the mouth of the river Platte, a distance of 630 miles, is generally well timbered. At some little distance above this river the open or prairie country commences. With respect to this open country, I have been agreeably disappointed. From previous information I had been led to believe that it was barren, sterile and sandy; but, on the contrary, I found it fertile in the extreme, the soil being from one to twenty feet in depth, consisting of a fine black loam, intermixed with a sufficient quantity of sand only to induce a luxuriant growth of grass and other vegetable productions, particularly such as are not liable to be much injured, or wholly destroyed by the ravages of the

fire. It is also generally level, yet well watered, in short, there can exist no other objection to it, except that of the want of timber, which is truly a very serious one. This want of timber is by no means attributable to a deficiency in the soil to produce it, but owes its origin to the ravages of the fires, which the natives kindle in these plains at all seasons of the year. The country on both sides of the river, except some of its bottom lands, for an immense distance is one continued open plain, in which no timber is to be seen except a few detatched and scattered copse, and clumps of trees, which, from their moist situation, or the steep declivities of hills, are sheltered from the effects of fire. The general aspect of the country is level so far as the perception of the spectator will enable him to determine, but from the rapidity of the Missouri, it must be considerably elevated, as it passes to the N. West; it is broken only on the borders of the water courses. Game is very abundant, and seems to increase as we progress — our prospect of starving is therefore consequently small. On the lower portion of the Missouri, from its junction with the Mississippi to the entrance of the Osage river we met with some deer, bear and turkeys. From thence to the Kancez river the deer were more abundant. A great number of black bear, some turkeys, geese, swan and ducks. From thence to the mouth of the great river Platte an immense quantity of deer, some bear, elk, turkeys, geese, swan and ducks. From thence to the river S[ioux] some bear, a great number of elks, the bear disappeared almost entirely, some turkeys, geese, swan and ducks. From thence to the mouth of the White river vast herds of buffalo, elk and some deer, and a greater quantity of turkeys than we had before seen, a circumstance which I did not much expect in a country so destitute of timber. Hence to Fort Mandan the buffalo, elk and deer increase in quantity, with the addition of the cabie [cabra], as they are generally called by the French engages, which is a creature about the size of a small deer. Its flesh is deliciously flavored. The ice in the Missouri has now nearly disappeared. I shall set out on my voyage in the course of a few days. I can foresee no material obstruction to our progress and feel the most perfect confidence that we shall reach the Pacific ocean this summer. For myself, individually, I enjoy better health than I have since I commenced my voyage. The party are now in fine health and excellent spirits, are attached to the enterprise and anxious to proceed. Not a whisper of discontent or murmur is to be heard among them. With such men I feel every confidence necessary to insure success. The party, with Capt. Clark and myself, consists of thirty-one white persons, one negro man, and two Indians. The Indians in this neighborhood

[assert] that the Missouri is navigable nearly to its source, and that from a navigable part of the river, at a distance not exceeding a half a days march, there is a large river running from south to north along the western base of the Rocky Mountains, but as their war excursions have not extended far beyond this point, they can give no account of the discharge or source of this river. We believe this stream to be the principal South Fork of the Columbia river, and if so, we shall probably find but little difficulty in passing to the ocean. We have subsisted this winter on meat principally, with which our guns have furnished us an ample supply, and have, by that means, reserved a sufficient stock of the provisions we brought with us from the Illinois to guard us against accidental want during the voyage of the present year. You may expect me in Albemarle about the last of next Sept. — twelve months. I request that you will give yourself no uneasiness with respect to my fate, for I assure you that I feel myself perfectly as safe as I should do in Albemarle, and the only difference between three or four thousand miles and 130 is that I can not have the pleasure of seeing you as often as I did while at Washington.

I must request of you before I conclude this letter, to send John Marks[1] to the college of Williamsburgh as soon as it shall be thought that his education has been sufficiently advanced to fit him for that seminary; for you may rest assured that as you regard his future prosperity you had better make any sacrifice of his property than suffer his education to remain neglected or incomplete. Give my love to my brothers and sisters and all my neighbors and friends, and rest assured yourself of the most devoted filial affection of yours,

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

[1] Lewis's young step-brother. — ED.

LI

CLARK TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

FORT MANDAN, April 1st 1805

SIR — It being the wish of Capt. Lewis I take the liberty to send you for your own perusal the notes which I have taken in the form of a journal in their original state. You will readily perceive in reading over those notes that many parts are incorrect, owing to the variety information received at different times. I most sincerely wish that leasure had permited me to offer them in a more correct form. Receive I pray you my unfained acknowledgments for your friendly recollection of me in your letters to my friend and companion Capt. Lewis, and be assured of the sincere regard with which I have the honor to be your most Obt & Humble Servt

[Endorsed :] Copy to the President.

LII

CLARK TO WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

[From the Baltimore *Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1805.][1]

FORT MANDAN, 1609 MILES UP THE MISSOURI,
lat. 47 21 47, N. long. 101 25, W.
April 2d, 1805.

DEAR SIR, By the return of a party which we send from this place with dispatches, I do myself the pleasure of giving you a summary view of the Missouri, &c.

In ascending as high as the Kanzas river, which is 334 miles up the Missouri on the S.W. side, we met a strong current, which runs from five to seven miles an hour, the bottoms extensive, and covered with timber; the high country is interspersed with rich handsome prairies; well watered, and abounds in dear and bear. In ascending as high as the river Plate, we met a current less rapid, not exceeding 6 miles an hour; in this distance we pass several small rivers on each side which water some fine diversified country principally prairie as between the Vincennes and Illinois, the bottomed continued wide, and covered with timber, this river is about 600 yards wide, at the mouth, not navigable, it heads the rocky mountains, with the North River, and Yellow Stone River, and passes through an open country; 15 leagues up this river the Ottoes, and thirty Missouries lives in one village, and can raise 200 men, 15 leagues h[i]gher up the Paneas and Penea republicans live in one village, and can raise 700 men; up the Wolf Fork of this river, the Pania Lousis live in one village, and can raise 280 men. The Indians have partial rupture frequently. River Plate is 630 miles up the Missouri, on the south west side: Here we find the antelope or goat. The next river of size ascending, is the Stone river, commonly called by the Indians, Little River Desioux: it takes its rise in lake Despice, 15 miles from the river Demoir, and is 64 yards wide. Here

[1] Communicated to the paper in a letter from Vincennes, Indiana Territory, under date of June 19. Obviously, either the correspondent or the editor of the paper has somewhat improved both the orthography and diction of the original. — ED.

commences the Sioux country. The next river of note is the Big Sioux river, which heads with St. Peters and waters of lake Winnepic, in some high wooded country. About 90 miles higher up, the river Jaque falls on the same side, and about one hundred yards wide. This river heads with the waters of lake Winnepic, at no great distance east from this place. The head of the River Demon is in Pilican lake, between the Sioux rivers and the St. Peters. The country on both sides of the Missouri, from the river Plate to that place, has very much the same appearance: extensive fertile plains, with but very little timber, and that little principally confined to the river bottoms and streams. The country east of this place, and off from the Missouri as low as Stone river, contains a number of small lakes, many of which are said to be so much impregnated with glauber salts, as to produce all its effects; certain it is, that the water in the small streams from the hills below, on the south west side, possesses this quality. About the river Jacque, Bruffala county contains great quantities of mineral, cobalt, cinnebar, alum, copperas, and several other things; the stone coal which is on the Missouri is very indifferent. Ascending 52 miles above the Jacque, the river Quicum falls in on the south west side. This river is, 1026 miles up, 150 yards wide, not navigable; it heads in the black mountains, which run nearly parallel to the Missouri, from about the head of the Kanzas river, and end S. W. of this place. Quicum waters a broken country, 122 miles by water higher. White river falls in on the south west side, and is 300 yards wide, and navigable, as all the other streams are, which are not particularly mentioned. This river heads in some small lakes short of the black mountains. The Mahan and Poncan nations rove on the heads of this river and the Quicum and Can raise 250 men, they were very numerous a few years ago, but the small-pox and the Sioux have reduced them to their present state — the Sioux possess the south west of the Missouri, above White river; 132 miles higher, and on the west side. — Teton river falls into it, it is small, and heads in the open plains; here we met a large band of Sioux. and the second which we had seen called Tetons, those are great rascals, and may be justly termed the pirates of the Missouri; they made two attemps to stop us; they are subdivided and stretched on the river to near this place, having reduced the Ruaras and Mandans, and drove them from the country they now occupy, the Sioux bands rove in the country to the Mississippi. About 47 miles above the Teton river, the Chyenne river falls in from the south west, 400 yards wide, and navigable to the Black mountains, in which it takes its rise, in the 3d range. Several bands of Indians but little known, rove on

the heads of this and the river Plate, and are stated to be as follows; Chayenne, 300 men, Staetan 100 men; Canenaviech, 400 men; Cavanwa and Wetabato, 200 men; Catoha, 70 men; Detain, 30 men: Memetoon, 50 men; Castah na, 1300 men; it is probable that some of these bands are the remains of the Paducar nation; at 1440 miles up the Missouri, (and a short distance above two handsome rivers which take their rise in the Black mountains) the Rickaras live in three villages, and are the remains of ten different tribes of Paneas, who have been reduced and drove from their country lower down, by the Sioux, their number is about 500 men, they raise corn, beans, &c. and appear friendly and well disposed, they were at war with the nations of this neighborhood, we have brought about a peace between the Recars and this place, two rivers fall in on the south west, and one on the north east, not very long, and take their rise in the open country; this country abounds in a great variety of wild animals but a few of which the Indians take, many of those animals are uncommon in the U. States, such as white, red and grey bears, long ear'd male or black tailed deer, (black at the end of the tail only) large hare, antelope or goat, the red fox, the ground praire dog, (burrows in the ground) the braroca, which has a head like a dog, and the size of a small dog, the white brant, magpye, calumet eagle, &c and many other are said to inhabit the rocky mountains.

I have collected the following account of the rivers and country in advance of this, to wit: at two days march in advance of this the Little Missouri, falls in on the side and heads in at the north extremity of the Black mountains; six days further a large river joins the Missouri, affording as much water as the main river, this river is rapid, without a fall, and navagable to the Rocky mountains; its branches head with the waters of the river Plate; the country in advance is said to be broken.

The trade of the nations at this place is from the N. W. and Hudsons bay establishments on the Assinneboin river, distant about 150 miles; those traders are nearly at open war with each other, and better calculated to destroy then promote the happiness of those nations to whom they have latterly extended their trade, and intend to form an establishment near this place in the course of this year.

Your most obdt. servt.

Wm. Clark.

LIII

CLARK TO CROGHAN

[From original MS. in library of Wisconsin Historical Society — Draper MSS., 12J4.]

FORT MANDAN IN Lat. 47° 21′ 47″ N. Long. 101° 25′ W
APRIL the 2nd 1805.

DEAR MAJOR: By the return of a party of Soldiars and french men who accompanied us to this place for the purpose of assisting in transporting provisions &c. I have the pleasure of Sending you this hasty scrawl which will do little more than inform you where I am. My time being entirely taken up in preparing information for our government and attending to those duties which is absolutely necessary for the promotion of our enterprise and attending to Indians deprives me the Satisfaction of giveing you a Satisfactory detail of this Countrey. I must therefore take the liberty of refuring you to my brother to whome I have inclosed a Map and Some sketches relative to the Indians. Our party has enjoyed a great Share of health and are in high Spirits. We shall leave this place in two days on our journey Country and River above this is but little Known our information is altogether from Indians collected at different times and entitled to some credit. My return will not be So Soon as I expected, I fear not sooner than about June or July 1806 every exertion will be made to accomplish this enterprise in a Shorter period, please to present me most respectfully to my Sister Lucy & the family and accept the assurance of my sincere affections &c WM. CLARK

I send my sister Croghan Some Seed of Several Kinds of Grapes.

LIV

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 107. First printed, in revised form, in connection with Jefferson's message to Congress, Feb. 19, 1806; and later, in other places. It is generally misdated "April 17th" instead of 7th.]

FORT MANDAN, April 7th 1805.

DEAR SIR: Herewith inclosed you will receive an invoice of certain articles, which I have forwarded to you from this place. among other articles, you will observe by reference to the invoice, 67. specimens of earths, salts and minerals; and 60 specimens of plants: these are accompanyed by their rispective labels expressing the days on which obtained, places where found, and also their virtues and properties when known. by means of these labels, reference may be made to the Chart of the Missouri forwarded to the Secretary at War, on which, the encampment of each day has been carefully marked; thus the places at which these specimens have been obtained may be easily pointed out, or again found, should any of them prove valuable to the community on further investegation. (these have been forwarded with a view of their being presented to the Philosophical society of Philadelphia, in order that they may under their direction be examined or analyzed. after examining these specimens yourself, I would thank you to have a copy of their labels made out, and retained untill my return. the other articles are intended particularly for yourself, to be retained, or disposed off as you may think proper.)

You will also receive herewith inclosed a part of Capt Clark's private journal, the other part you will find inclosed in a separate tin box. this journal (is in it's original state, and of course incorrect, but it) will serve to give you the daily detales of our progress, and transactions. (Capt Clark dose not wish this journal exposed in it's present state, but has no objection, that one or more copies of it be made by some confidential person under your direction, correcting it's gramatical errors &c. indeed it is the wish of both of us, that two of those copies should be made, if convenient, and retained untill our return; in this state there is no objection to your submitting them to the perusal of the heads of the

departments, or such others as you may think proper. a copy of this journal will assist me in compiling my own for publication after my return.) I shall dispatch a canoe with three, perhaps four persons, from the extreem navigable point of the Missouri, or the portage betwen this river, and the Columbia river, as either may first happen; by the return of this canoe, I shal send you my journal, and some one or two of the best of those kept by my men. I have sent a journal kept by one of the Sergeants,[1] to Capt Stoddard, my agent at S[t] Louis, in order as much as possible to multiply the chances of saving something. we have encouraged our men to keep journals, and seven of them do so, to whom in this respect we give every assistance in our power.

I have transmitted to the Secretary at War, every information relative to the geography of the country which we possess, together with a view of the Indian nations, containing information relative to them, on those points with which, I conceived it important that the government should be informed. (If it could be done with propriety and convenience, I should feel myself much obliged by your having a copy taken of my dispatches to the Secretary at War, on those subjects, retaining them for me untill my return.) By reference to the Muster-rolls forwarded to the War Department, you will see the state of the party; in addition to which, we have two Interpreters, one negroe man, servant to Cap[t] Clark, one Indian woman, wife to one of the interpreters, and a Mandan man, whom we take with a view to restore peace between the Snake Indians, and those in this neighborhood amounting in total with ourselves to 33 persons. by means of the Interpreters and Indians, we shall be enabled to converse with all the Indians that we shall probably meet with on the Missouri.

I have forwarded to the Secretary at War, my public Accounts rendered up to the present day. they have been much longer delayed than I had any idea that they would have been, when we departed from the Illinois, but this delay, under the circumstances which I was compelled to act, has been unavoidable.[2] The provision peraque and her crew, could not have been dismissed in time to have returned to S[t] Louis last fall without evedently in my opinion, hazarding the fate of the enterprise in which I am engaged, and I therefore did not hesitate to prefer the sensure that I may have incurred by the detention of

[1] Doubtless Floyd's Journal, pp. 3–26 in the present volume. — ED.

[2] No record has been found showing the items of the account rendered to the Secretary of War, referred to by Captain Lewis in his letter to President Jefferson dated at Fort Mandan, April 7, 1805. — F. C. AINSWORTH, chief of Record and Pension Office, War Department.

these papers, to that of risking in any degree the success of the expedition. to me, the detention of those papers have formed a serious source of disquiet and anxiety; and the recollection of your particular charge to me on this subject, has made it still more poignant. I am fully aware of the inconvenience which must have arrisen to the War Department, from the want of these vouchers previous to the last session of Congress, but how to divert [1] it was out of my power to devise. —

From this plase we shall send the barge and crew early tomorrow morning with orders to proceed as expeditiously as possible to S[t] Louis, by her we send our dispatches, which I trust will get safe to hand. Her crew consists of ten ablebodied men well armed and provided with a sufficient stock of provision to last them to S[t] Louis. I have but little doubt but they will be fired on by the Siouxs; but they have pledged themselves to us that they will not yeald while there is a man of them living.

Our baggage is all embarked on board six small canoes and two perogues; we shall set out at the same moment that we dispatch the barge. one or perhaps both of these perogues we shall leave at the falls of the Missouri, from whence we intend continuing our voyage in the canoes and a perogue of skins, the frame of which was prepared at Harper's ferry. this perogue is now in a situation which will enable us to prepare it in the course of a few hours. as our vessels are now small and the current of the river much more moderate, we calculate on traveling at the rate of 20 or 25 miles p[r] day as far as the falls of the Missouri. beyond this point, or the first range of rocky Mountains situated about 100 miles further, any calculation with rispect to our daily progress, can be little more than bare conjecture. the circumstance of the Snake Indians possessing large quantities of horses, is much in our favour, as by means of horses, the transportation of our baggage will be rendered easy and expeditious over land, from the Missouri, to the Columbia river. should this river not prove navigable where we first meet with it, our present intention is, to continue our march by land down the river untill it becomes so, or to the Pacific Ocean. The map, which has been forwarded to the Secretary at War, will give you the idea we entertain of the connection of these rivers, which has been formed from the corresponding testimony of a number of Indians who have visited that country, and who have been seperately and carefully examined on that subject, and we therefore think it entitled to some degree of confidence.

Since our arrival at this place we have subsisted principally on meat,

[1] This was amended in Jefferson's handwriting, "avert." — Ed.

with which our guns have supplyed us amply, and have thus been enabled to reserve the parched meal, portable Soup, and a considerable proportion of pork and flour, which we had intended for the more difficult parts of our voyage. if Indian information can be credited, the vast quantity of game with which the country abounds through which we are to pass leaves us but little to apprehend from the want of food.

We do not calculate on completeing our voyage within the present year, but expect to reach the Pacific Ocean, and return, as far as the head of the Missouri, or perhaps to this place before winter. you may therefore expect me to meet you at Montochello in September 1806.

On our return we shal probably pass down the yellow stone river, which from Indian informations, waters one of the fairest portions of this continent.

I can foresee no material or probable obstruction to our progress, and entertain therefore the most sanguine hopes of complete success. As to myself individually I never enjoyed a more perfect state of good health, than I have since we commenced our voyage. my inestimable friend and companion Cap^{t} Clark has also enjoyed good health generally. At this moment, every individual of the party are in good health, and excellent sperits; zealously attatched to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed; not a whisper of discontent or murmur is to be heard among them; but all in unison, act with the most perfect harmoney. with such men I have every thing to hope, and but little to fear.

Be so good as to present my most affectionate regard to all my friends, and be assured of the sincere and unalterable attatchment of

Your most Ob^{t} Serv^{t}

MERIWETHER LEWIS
Capt. 1st U' S. Reg^{t} Infty.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the U' States.

[Endorsed :] Lewis Meriwether. Fort Mandan, Apr. 7 05 rec^{d} Jul. 13.

L V

INVOICE OF ARTICLES FORWARDED TO JEFFERSON FROM FORT MANDAN

[From original MS. by Clark, in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, L, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 105 *a*. Italics within brackets are the comments of the person who checked up the invoice, on receipt of the articles; the natural-history specimens were sent by Jefferson to Peale's Museum, Philadelphia — the "P" of the check-list; the mineralogical specimens went to the American Philosophical Society.]

[April 7, 1805]

Invoice of articles forwarded from Fort Mandan to the President of the United States through Captn Stoddard at St. Louis and Mr. H. B. Trist, the Collector of the Port of New Orleans.[1]

No	Package	Contents
1	Box	Skins of the Male and female Antelope, with their Skeletons. [*came. P.*]
"	do	2 Horns and ears, of the Blacktail, or Mule Deer. [*came*]
"	"	A Martin Skin [*came*] containing the Skin of a weasel [*came. P.*] and three Small squirels of the Rocky Mountains & the tail of a Mule deer fully grown. [*came.*]
"	"	Skeletons of the Small, or burrowing wolf of the Praries, the Skin haveing been lost by accedent. [*some skeletons came, not distinguishable. sent to P.*]
"	"	2 Skeletons of the White Hair. [*as above. P.*]
"	"	A Mandan bow with a quiver of Arrows [*came*] the quiver containing Some Seed of the Mandan tobacco. [*came*]
"	"	A carrot of Ricara tobacco. [*came*].
2	Box	4 Buffalow Robes [*came*] and an *ear* of Mandan corn.
3	Box	Skins of the Male and female Antelope, with their Skeletons [*undistinguishable*] and the Skin of a brown, or Yellow Bear.
4	Box	Specimens of earths, Salts, and minerals, numbered from 1 to 67. [*came A. Ph. Society.*]
"	"	Specimens of plants numbered from 1 to 60. [*came*]
"	"	1 earthen pot, Such as the Mandans manufacture, and use for culinary purposes. [*came*]

[1] This must have been addressed under the mistaken information of Jefferson's letter, doc. xxxiv, p. 275, *ante*, since William Brown was at this time collector at New Orleans. — Ed.

N°	Package	Contents
4	Box	1 tin box containing insects, mice &c
"	"	a Specimen of the fur of the Antilope.
"	"	a Specimen of a plant, and a parsel of its roots, highly prized by the natives as an efficatious remidy in the cure of the bite of the rattle snake, or Mad dog.
"	Large Trunk	Skins of a Male and female Braro, or burrowing Dog of the Praries, with the Skeleton of the female. [*came. P.*]
"	in a large Trunk	1 Skin of a red fox containing a Magpie. [*came*]
"	"	2 Cased Skins of the white hare. [*came. P.*]
"	"	1 Minitarre Buffalow robe, [*came*] containing Some articles of Indian dress. [*came*]
"	"	1 Mandan Buffalow robe, [*came*] containing a dressed Skin of the Lousiv[ir]e [*came*] and two cased Skins of the burrowing Squirels of the praries [*came*]
"	"	13 red fox skins [*came*]
"	"	4 horns of the mountain ram, or *big horn* [*came*]
"	"	1 Buffalow robe painted by a Mandan man representing a battle which was fought 8 years since, by the Sioux & Ricaras, against the Mandans, Minitarras & Ahwahharways [*came*]
6	Cage	Containing four liveing Magpies. [1. *came P.*]
7	do.	Containing a liveing burrowing Squirel of the praries. [*came. P*].
9	do.	Containing one liveing hen of the Prarie.
10	—	1 large par of Elk's horns connected by the frontal bone.

LVI

A NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT

[From the Boston *Centinel*, July 13, 1805.]

LOUISIANA

LEXINGTON, June 18, 1805.

THE party of discovery, under the command of Capt. *Lewis* and *Clark*, left the mouth of the *Missouri* on the 19th day of May, 1804. An express with dispatches from their winter quarters, which left them the 14th April, has returned to *St. Louis*. By the express, letters were received from Captain *Clark* to his correspondents in *Kentucky*. A gentleman from *Jefferson* county, has obligingly favored the Editor of the *Kentucky Gazette* with the following account, which he obtained from one of the men who returned with the express, and from letters from some of the party. They fortified themselves in November last, on the bank of the *Missouri*, 1609 miles from the mouth, by actual measurement, in latitude 47, 21, N; called then *Fort Mandane*, after a nation of Indians, who reside in the neighborhood, and who have been very friendly to them. — On their passage up, they were delighted with the beautiful appearance of the country for about 200 leagues, or to the mouth of the river *La Plata*, which comes in from the South; after which, to their winter quarters, it is described not to be so fertile. The person who brought the dispatches, speaks of the opening made by the river, being about one mile wide with high cliffs on each side. — The bed of the river occupies about a fourth part of it, the remainder of the bottom entirely composed of coarse sand, covered with cotton wood. This bottom is continually giving way either on one side or the other, and gaining on the opposite side. — The cliffs in some places are covered with red cedar, which, with the cotton and a few small black ash trees, is the only timber described to be in that country. From the height, there is not a tree or twig to be seen, as far as the sight can extend, or as they have explored. Out from the river the land goes off perfectly level, with but few exceptions — and their plains covered with grass. They passed the mouths of a number of streams,

the most of which had names given by the French. One they have named *Floyd's* river, to perpetuate the name of a young man of their party, named *Charles Floyd*, who died much regretted on the 20th August. They represent the Indians to have been friendly, with but a few exceptions. The *Soux* are the most numerous, are organized in bands bearing different names, move about from place to place, from the banks of the river out to the plains, in pursuit of game and plunder having no fixed place of residence and in a continual state of warfare. These were the most troublesome Indians to the party of discovery, as they expressed a jealousy, least they would supply their enemies higher up with arms &c. — The higher up they went, the more friendly they found the savages, and the better armed. — They have a more regular trade with the North West Company, and the Hudson bay company; which supplies come to them by the way of Lake *Winnepeck*. The Mandanes cultivate corn, which is of a small kind, from whom the party was supplied during the winter, and their hunters kept them in abundance of meat.

Buffaloes are said to be in great numbers, and of a large size — two description of deer are described; those resembling the common kind of this country being larger, and the tails 18 inches long, and the hair much longer on their bodies; the other kind having a black tail. Elks and goats are numerous. The grouse, or praire hen are in plenty; and before the closing of the river in the fall, water fowls in abundance. Fish scarce, and those principally of the cat kind. Some of the white bear-skins, had been brought to the fort by visiting Indians from higher up; but the party had seen none of those animals. The Indians keep horses, which are used entirely for the chase, and in war.

From such information as they have received of the country above there, it is about 600 miles to the great falls, which are made by a ledge of mountains, called Rocky Mountain, in which it is presumed the *Missouri* terminates. At their winter quarters the river is nearly a mile wide; is equally as muddy as at its mouth, and has continued its rapidity with very little alteration, as high as they have gone, though it has became considerably more shallow, so that they will not be able to take their large barge any higher. From what information they have obtained of the course of the upper part of the river, the most are at the northwardly part. — From where they wintered to the falls, is nearly a south course. The description given by *McKenzie* of the head waters of the river, is accurate.

They have sent on to the President of the United States an accurate journal, with a map of the country through which they passed. Six of

party were sent back — the party now consists of 28 men, exclusive of the two officers. They have enjoyed perfect health — not one having been sick, except the unfortunate young man before mentioned, and he was taken off in a few hours by the cramp in his stomach. The greatest friendship has existed with the party; and the men who have returned, speak in the highest terms of the humanity, and uncommon pains and attention of both Captains, *Lewis* and *Clark*, toward the whole of them; and that they left them in good spirits, fully convinced that they would winter on the Pacific Ocean.

They were told of six nations of Indians they would have to pass, before they would arrive at the falls from only one of which they apprehended any difficulty — they are called the Snake tribe; and reside high up.

Curiosities of different kinds, live beasts, birds, several boxes of minerals, a pair of uncommon ram's horns, from the rocky mountains, scions of a new discovered berry, called the buffaloe berry, &c. have been brought on by the returned party, and deposited with the commanding officer at *St. Louis*, to be sent by him to the President.

We expect in a few days further particulars relative to this interesting voyage.

LVII

JEFFERSON TO CONSTANTIN FRANÇOIS DE CHASSEBŒUF COMTE DE VOLNEY[1]

[Extract — Ford, viii, p. 419.]

[Feb. 11, 1806]

Our last news of Captn Lewis was that he had reached the upper part of the Missouri, & had taken horses to cross the Highlands to the Columbia river.[2] He passed the last winter among the Mandans 1610 miles above the mouth of the river. So far he had delineated it with as great accuracy as will probably be ever applied to it, as his courses & distances by mensuration were corrected by almost daily observations of latitude and longitude. With his map he sent us specimens or information of the following animals not before known to the northern continent of America. 1. The horns of what is perhaps a species of Ovis Ammon. 2. A new variety of the deer having a black tail. 3. An antelope. 4. The badger, not before known out of Europe. 5. A new species of marmotte. 6. A white weasel. 7. The magpie. 8. The Prairie hen, said to resemble the Guinea hen (peintade). 9. A prickly lizard. To these are added a considerable collection of minerals, not yet analyzed. He wintered in Lat. 47° 20′ and found the maximum of cold 43° below the zero of Fahrenheit. We expect he has reached the Pacific, and is now wintering on the head of the Missouri, and will be here next autumn.

[1] Count Volney was an illustrious French savant and writer, who visited the United States in 1797 and 1798, and was expelled from the country under the alien and sedition laws. His book on the climate and soil of the United States was published in 1803. — Ed.

[2] Nowhere in the journals are there any indications of messages having been sent to Washington from the expedition, between leaving the Mandans in the spring of 1805 and the arrival at St. Louis in September, 1806; nor was it practicable to send such messages. Moreover, in doc. lviii, below, Jefferson practically states, on February 19, that he had heard nothing from Lewis since April 8, 1805. — Ed.

LVIII

PART OF PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, 1806

[From Richardson's *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, i, p. 398.]

Feb. 19, 1806.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

In pursuance of a measure proposed to Congress by a message of January 18, 1803, and sanctioned by their approbation for carrying it into execution, Captain Meriwether Lewis, of the First Regiment of infantry, was appointed, with a party of men, to explore the river Missouri from its mouth to its source, and, crossing the highlands by the shortest portage, to seek the best water communication thence to the Pacific Ocean; and Lieutenant Clarke was appointed second in command. They were to enter into conference with the Indian nations on their route with a view to the establishment of commerce with them. They entered the Missouri May 14, 1804, and on the 1st of November took up their winter quarters near the Mandan towns, 1,609 miles above the mouth of the river, in latitude 47° 21′ 47″ north and longitude 99° 24′ 45″ west from Greenwich. On the 8th of April, 1805, they proceeded up the river in pursuance of the objects prescribed to them. A letter of the preceding day, April 7th, from Captain Lewis is herewith communicated. During his stay among the Mandans he had been able to lay down the Missouri according to courses and distances taken on his passage up it, corrected by frequent observations of longitude and latitude, and to add to the actual survey of this portion of the river a general map of the country between the Mississippi and Pacific from the thirty-fourth to the fifty-fourth degree of latitude. These additions are from information collected from Indians with whom he had opportunities of communicating during his journey and residence with them. Copies of this map are now presented to both Houses of Congress. With these I communicate also a statistical view, procured and forwarded by him, of the Indian nations inhabiting the Territory of Louisiana and the countries adjacent to its northern and western borders, of their commerce, and of other interesting circumstances respecting them.

LIX

CLARK TO CHARBONNEAU

[From original MS., probably the draft retained by Clark, in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

On Board the Perogue Near the Ricara Village
August 20th 1806.

Charbono

Sir: Your present Situation with the Indians givs me Some concern — I wish now I had advised you to come on with me to the Illinois where it most probably would be in my power to put you in Some way to do Something for your Self — I was so engaged after the *Big White* had concluded to go down with Jeſsomme as his Interpreter, that I had not time to talk with you as much as I intended to have done. You have been a long time with me and have conducted your Self in Such a manner as to gain my friendship, your woman who accompanied you that long dangerous and fatigueing rout to the Pacific Ocean and back, diserved a greater reward for her attention and Services on that rout than we had in our power to give her at the Mandans. As to your little Son (my boy *Pomp*) you well know my fondneſs for him and my anxiety to take and raise him as my own child. I once more tell you if you will bring your son Baptiest to me I will educate him and treat him as my own child — I do not forget the promis which I made to you and Shall now repeet them that you may be certain — Charbono, if you wish to live with the white people, and will come to me I will give you a piece of land and furnish you with horses cows & hogs — If you wish to visit your friends in *Montreall* I will let you have a horse, and your family Shall be taken care of untill your return — if you wish to return as an Interpreter for the Menetarras when the troops come up to form the establishment, you will be with me ready and I will procure you the place — or if you wish to return to, trade with the indians and will leave your little *Son Pomp* with me, I will aſsist you with merchendize for that purpose and become my self conserned with you in trade on a Small scale that is to say not exceeding a perogue load at one time —. If you are desposed to accept either of my offers to you and will bring down

your *Son* your famn Janey had best come along with you to take care of the boy untill I get him — let me advise you to keep your Bill of Exchange and what furs and pelteries you have in poſseſsion, and get as much more as you can —, and get as many robes, and big horn and Cabbra Skins as you can collect in the course of this winter. and take them down to S^{t} Louis as early as poſsible in the Spring — When you get to S^{t} Louis enquire of the Govorner of that place for a letter which I shall leave with him for you — in the letter which I shall leave with the governer I shall inform you what you had best do with your firs pelterees and robes &c and derect you where to find me — If you should meet with any miſfortune on the river &c. when you get to S^{t} Louis write a letter to me by the post and let me know your Situation — If you do not intend to go down either this fall or in the Spring, write a letter to me by the first oppertunity and inform me what you intend to do that I may know if I may expect you or not. If you ever intend to come down this fall or the next Spring will be the best time — this fall would be best if you could get down before the winter — . I shall be found either in S^{t} Louis or in Clarksville at the Falls of the Ohio.

Wishing you and your family great suckceſs & with anxious expectations of seeing my little dancing boy Baptiest I shall remain your friend

WILLIAM CLARK

Keep this letter and let not more than one or 2 persons see it, and when you write to me Seal your letter. I think you best not determine which of my offers to accept untill you see me. Come prepared to accept of either which you may chuse after you get down.

M^{r} Teousant Charbono, Menetarras Village.

LX

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON (A FRAGMENT)

[From original incomplete MS. in Lewis and Clark journals — Codex S. Apparently the commencement of a draft of the "sketch of the Most prominent perigrinations since we left the Mandans," promised in the succeeding letter; but it does not appear to have been completed.]

St. Louis September 21st, 1806.

Sir: Having acquired information & provisions of the Mandans On the evening of the 7th of Ap[l] 1805 we embarked with our baggage on board 2 large perogues and six small canoes at Fort Mandan on a Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean. The party consisted of the following persons my friend and Colleague Capt. W[m] Clark, Interpreters George Drewyer and Touasant Charbono, Sergts. John Ordway, Nathanial Pryor, and Patric Gass, privates John Shields &[c] a Shoshone Woman and child wife and Infant of Tou[ts] Charbono and York a black man servant to Capt. Clark making a total with myself of 33 persons. A Man of the Mandan nation also set out with us under promis to accompany us to the Rocky Mountains with a view to reestablish peace between the Minnetares & Ahwahaways and the Shoshones and others at the head of the Missouri, but becoming very early tired of his mission he abandoned us on the 8[th] and returned to his village. the river was full and the water excessively cold the ice which confined it from the [blank space in MS.] [th] of November 1804 had departed only within a few days previously in this navigating we employed the oar cord and sail the water being too high to permit the uce of the seting pole which in the latter part of summer and autumn may be employed to great advantage on a large proportion of every part of the Missouri, (and when the state of the river is such as to permit the uce of the pole it is always to be prefered to the oar in resisting the forse of it's currant). we ascended with as little difficulty as we had previously met with, found the river equally wide deep and navigable as below fort Mandan.

it may not be amis to premise that the distances herein stated are those from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi from which you will recollect that Fort Mandan is 1609 miles distant. we have

through the whole course of the voyage taken a chart of the several rivers which we have navigated on a large scale as well as delienated our several tracts by land marking our dayly encampments the entrance of watercourses points of celestial observation, and all other places and objects worthy of notice.

at the distance of 1699 mile from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi we arrived on the 13th of Apl at the entrance of the little Missouri a handsom river of [blank space in MS.] yds. in width discharging itself on the S. side, navigable for canoes [blank space in MS.] Ms. here we remained untill the 15th on pursuing our rout we passed the entrance of the white earth river on the [blank space in MS.] Apr. at 1. Ms. this river discharged itself on the N. E. side is [blank space in MS.] yds in width and appears as if it might be navigated with small canoes many miles it's course is due north through an open level plain. a small party of white men, residing with the Mandans, had ascended the Missouri within [blank space in MS.] miles of the entrance of this river about 4 years before but we have no certain account of any white persons reaching its entrance previous to ourselves. from hence therefore our footsteps were on unkno[wn] ground. here the beaver become very abundant on the R. at the distance of 1888 miles we reached the entrance of the Yellow Rock river on the 27th of Apl. this noble branch of the Missouri discharges itself on the S.W. side. it is nearly as wide as the Missouri has from 6 to 8 feet water with an even gentle currant it discharges much more water than any other branch of the Missouri, at least twice as much at many seasons of the year as the great river Platte which has been hitherto considered the most conspicuous among the branches of the Missouri. we examined the country minutely in the vicinity of the entrance of the River Rochejone and found it possessed of every natural advantage necessary for an establishment, it's position in a geographical point of view has destined it for one of the most important establishments both as it reguards the fur trade and the government of the natives in that quarter of the continent. having made the necessary observations at this place we left it on the [blank space in MS.] of Apr. determining to explore this river on our return. still ascending we passed the entrances of two handsome rivers on the N.E. side the 1st at 1944 ms to which we gave the name of Marthy's river the 2d at 53 miles further which we called Porcupine river, the 1st is 50 yds wide and the 2ed 112, both discharge considerable quantities of water; the latter we believe to be navigable many miles for canoes the latter not so far. on the [blank space in MS.] of May we arrived at the entrance of a bold river on the N. E. side 150 yds wide which

from the colour of it's water we called milk river. the currant is gentle stream deep and is probably navigable for large perogues or boats for 150 miles, that is judging from streams of similar size which like it pass through an open country. it's course as far as we could discover it from an eminence or about 30 m.s was due north and I am [MS. here ends. — ED.]

LXI

LEWIS TO JEFFERSON

[From original MS. in Lewis and Clark journals — Codex S, which consists of leaves cut from the regular note-books. Apparently the first draft of the document which is found in the Jefferson Papers (Bureau of Rolls), series 6, vol. 11, doc. 103. We have, in the present publication, preferred to follow this draft.]

S^{t}. Louis September 23rd. 1806.

Sir: It is with pleasure that I anounce to you the safe arrival of myself and party at this place on the [blank space in MS.] inst. with our papers and baggage. no accedent has deprived us of a single member of our party since I last wrote you from the Mandans in April 1804. In obedience to your orders we have penetrated the Continent of North America to the Pacific Ocean and suficiently explored the interior of the country to affirm that we have discovered the most practicable communication which dose exist across the continent by means of the navigable branches of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; this is by way of the Missouri to the foot of the rapids five miles below the great falls of that river a distance of 2575 Miles, thence by land passing the Rocky mountains to the Kooskooske 340 and from thence by way of the Kooskooske, the S. E. branch of the Columbia and the latter river to the Ocean of 640 Miles making a total of 3555 Miles. the Missouri possesses sufficient debth of water as far as is specifyed for boats of 15 tons burthen, but those of smaller capacity are to be prefered, the navigation may be deemed safe and good. of 340 Miles land carriage 200 Miles is along a good road and 140 over tremendious mountains which for 60 Miles are covered with eternal snows. notwithstanding the Rocky Mountains thus present a most formidable barrier to this tract across the continent a passage is practicable from the last of June to the last of September, and the expence of transportation over land may be reduced to a mere trifle by means of horses which can be procured in immence numbers and for the most trivial considerations from the natives inhabiting the rocky Mountains and Plains of Columbia West of those Mountains. the Navigation of the Columbia and it's branches is good from the 1st of April to the middle of August

when their waters subside and leave their beds obstructed by a great number of difficult and dangerous shoals and rapids. the Columbia in every stage of it's water has three portages. the first in decending is a portage of 1200 paces at the great falls, a pitch of 37 feet 8 inches being 261 Miles from it's mouth, the second of 2 Miles at the long narrows 6 miles below the falls, and the third of 2 miles at the great rapids 65 miles still lower down. the tides flow within 7 miles of these rapids or 183 miles up the Columbia. thus far large sloops might ascend the river with safety and ships of 300 tons burthen might ascend 125 miles to the entrance of Multnomah river a large Southen branch of the Columbia which takes its rise on the confines of Mexico with the Collorado and Apostles R. from the head of tidewater to the foot of the long narrows the river would be most advantageously navigated in large batteauxs, and from thence upwards in light perogues we vew this passage across the continent as affording immence advantages to the fir trade but fear that advantages wich it offers as a communication for the productions of the East Indias to the United States and thence to Europe will never be found equal on an extensive scale to that by the way of the Cape of good hope. still we beleive that many articles not bulky brittle nor of a perishable nature may be conveyed to the U'. States by this rout with more facility and less expence than by that at present practiced. That portion of the Continent watered by the Missouri and all it's branches from the Cheyenne upwards is richer in beaver and Otter than any country on earth particularly that proportion of it's subsiduary streams lying within the Rocky mountains; the furs of all this immence tract of country including such as may be collected on the upper portion of the river St. Peters, the Assinniboin & Red rivers may be conveyed to the mouth of the Columbia by the 1st of August in each year and from thence be shiped to and arrive at Canton earlier than the furs which are annually shiped from Montreal arrive in England. The N West Company of Canada were they permited by the U.S. might also convey their furs collected in the Athebaske on the Saskashawan and South and West of lake Winnipicque by that rout within the same period. in the infancy of this trade across the Continent or during the period that the trading establishments shall be confined to the branches of the Missouri the men employed in this trade will be compelled to convey the furs collected in that quarter as low on the Columbia as tide water in which case they could not return to the falls of the Missouri untill about the 1st. of October which would be so late in the season that there would be considerable danger of the river being obstructed by ice before they could reach St. Louis and the

comodities of the East Indias thus detained untill the following spring. but this dificulty will vanish when establishments are made on the Columbia and a sufficient number of men employed at them to convey the East India commodities to the upper establishment on the Kooskooske and there exchanging them with the men of the Missouri for their furs in the begining of July. by these means the furs not only of the Missouri but those of the Columbia may be shiped to Canton by the season before mentioned and the comodit[i]es of the East Indias arrive at S[t] Louis by the last of September in each Year. altho' the Columbia dose not as much as the Missouri abound in beaver and Otter yet it is by no means despicable in this respect and would furnish a profitable fur trade, in addition to the otter and beaver considerable quantities of the finest bear of three species affording a great variety of colours, the Tyger catt, several species of fox, the Martin and Sea Otter might be procured beside the rackoon and some other animals of an inferior class of furs. If the government will only aid even on a limited scale the enterprize of her Citizens I am convinced that we shall soon derive the benifits of a most lucrative trade from this source. and in the course of 10 or 12 Years a tour across the Continent by this rout will be undertaken with as little concern as a voyage across the Atlantic is at present.

The British N. West company of Canaday have for several years past carried on a partial trade with the Mandans Minnetares and Avahaways on the Missouri from their establishments on the Assinniboin near the entrance of Mouse R. at present I have every reason to believe that they intend forming an establishment very shortly on the Missouri near those nations with a view to ingroce the fir trade of that River. the known enterprize and resou[r]ces of this Company latterly stre[n]gthened by an union with its powerfull rival the X. Y. Company have rendered them formidable in that distant part of the continent to all other traders, and if we are to regard the trade of the missouri as an object of importance to the U. States the strides of this company towards that river cannot be too vigelently watched nor too firmly and spedily opposed by our government. the imbarrasment under which the navigation of the Missouri at present labours from the unfriendly dispositions of the Cancezs the several bands of Tetons, Assiniboins and those tribes that resort the British establishments on the Suskashawan is also a subject which requires the earliest attention of our government. as I shall shortly be with you I have deemed it unnecessary here to detail the several ideas which present themselves to my mind on those subjects more especially when I consider that a thorough knoledge of the geogra-

phy of the country will be absolutely necessary to their being understood, and leasure has not yet permited us to make but one general Map of the country which I am unwilling to wrisk by the Mail. As a sketch of the Most prominent features of our perigrinations since we left the Mandans may not be uninteresting I shall indeavour to give it to you by way of letter from this place, where I shall necessarily be detained for some days in order to settle with and discharge the men who accompanied me on the voige as well as to prepare for my rout to Washington. (not sending a party from the falls) We left fort Clatsop where we wintered on the pacific Ocean the 27th of [Mar]ch last and arrived at the foot of the Rocky M^{ts} on the 10th of May here we were detained untill the 24th of June in consequence of the snow rendering those mountains impassable, had it not been for this detention I should have joined you at Montechello in this month agreeably to the promise made you previous to our departure from the Mandans. I have brought with me several skins of the Sea Otter 2 skins of the native Sheep of N. America. 5 skins and skelitons complete of the Bighorn or mountain ram, and a skin of the mule deer besides the skins of several other quadrupeds and birds natives of the country through which we have passed; I have also preserved a pretty extensive collection of pla[n]ts in Horteo have obtained 10 vocabularies. have also prevailed on the principal Chief of the Mandans to accompany me to washington, he is now with my worthy friend and Colleague Capt. C. and myself at this place, in good health and spirits. With rispect to the exertions and services rendered by this estimable man Capt. W^{m} Clark on this expedicion I cannot say too much, if sir, any credit be due to the success of the arduous enterprize in which we have been engaged he is equally with myself entitled to the consideration of yourself and that of our common Country. The anxiety which I feel to return once more to the bosom of my friends is a sufficient guarantee that no time will be expended unnecessarily in this quarter. the rout by which I purpose travelling is from hence by Cahokia Vincennes LouisVill K^{ty} the Craborchard Abington Fincastle, Stanton and Charlotsville to Washington. any letters directed to me at Louisvill 10 days after the receipt of this will most proba[b]ly meet me at that place. I am very anxious to learn the state of my friends in Albemarle particular[l]y whether my mother is yet living. I am with every sentiment of esteem your most Ob^{t} Serv^{t}

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

Capt. 1st U' S Reg^{t} Infty.

The President of the United States.

LXII

CLARK TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK[1]

[From original MS., apparently Clark's draft, in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

S^{T} Louis September 24 1806

DEAR BROTHER, We arrived at this place on the 23 inst. from the pacific Ocean where we remained during the last winter near the entrance of the Columbia river. this station we left on the 23rd of March last and should have reached S^{t} Louis early in August had we not been detained by the snow which bared our paſsage acroſs the Rocky mountains untill the 24th of June. in returning through those mountains we divided ourselves into several parties, digreſsing from the rout by which we went out in order the more effectually to explore the country and discover the most practicable rout which dose exist acroſs the continent by way of the Miſsouri and Columbia rivers, in this we were completely succeſsful and have therefore no hesitation in declaring that such as nature has permitted it we have discovered the best rout which dose exist across the Continent of North America in that direction — such is that by way of the Miſsouri to the foot of the rapids below the great falls of that River a distance of 2575 miles thence by land paſsing the Rocky Mountains to a navigable part of the Kooskee 340. and with the Kooskooskee 73 miles Lewis's river 154 miles and the

[1] This was printed in a Frankfort (Ky.) paper, October 9, and copied in Eastern papers, among others the *Philadelphia Aurora*, November 3; Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, November 5; and Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, November 12.

The original letter came into the hands of Mrs. A. J. Ballard, of Louisville. November 24, 1868, Lyman C. Draper copied it there, and his transcript (somewhat "improved" in orthographical and other particulars, as was his custom) now rests in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, its press-mark being, Draper MSS., 12J5. There was no superscription on this original, but Draper inferred that it was addressed to George Rogers Clark — a presumption verified by the discovery of William Clark's original draft, in the Voorhis collection. We follow the latter, in preference to either the modified Draper transcript or the still more freely-edited newspaper version. — ED.

Columbia 413 miles to the Pacific Ocean making the total distance from the confluence of the Miſsouri and Miſsiſsippi to the discharge of the columbia into the Pacific Ocean 3555. miles. the navigation of the Miſsouri may be deemed good; it's difficulties arise from its falling banks, timber embeded in the mud of it's channel, it's sandbars and steady rapidity of it's current all which may be overcome with a great degree of certainty by using the neceſsary precautions. the paſsage by land of 340 miles from the Miſsouri to the Kooskooskee is the most formidable part of the tract proposed acroſs the continent. of this distance 200 miles is along a good road, and 140 over tremendious mountains which for 60 miles are covered with eternal snows. a passage over the mountains is however practicable from the latter part of June to the last of september and the cheep rate at which horses are to be obtained from the indians of the Rocky mountains and west of them reduces the expences of transportation over this portage to a mere trifle. the navigation of the Kooskooske Lewis's R and the Columbia is safe and good from the 1st. of april to the middle of August by making 3 portages on the latter river. the first of which in decending is 1200 paces at the falls of the Columbia, 261 mils up that river, a second of 2 miles at the long narrows 6 miles below the falls and then a third also of 2 ms. at the great rapids 65 miles still lower down. the tide flows up the Columbia 183 miles and within 7 miles of the great rapids. large sloops may with safety ascend as high as tide water and vessels of 300 tons burthen may reach the entrance of the Multnawah R. a large Southern branch of the Columbia which taking its rise on the confines of Mexico with the Callarado and Apostles rivers discharges itself into the Columbia 125 miles from its mouth. — I consider this tract across the continent of immense advantage to the fur trade, as all the furs collected in $^{9}/_{10}$ parts of the most valuable fur country in America may be conveyed to the mouth of the Columbia and shiped thence to the East Indies by the 1st. of August in each year. and will of course reach Canton earlyer than the furs which are annually exported from Montreal arrive in great Britain. —

In our outward bound voyage wee ascended to the foot of the rapids below the great falls of the Miſsouri where we arrived on the 14th. of June 1805. not having met with any of the natives of the Rocky mountains we were of course ignorant of the paſses by land which existed through that country to the Columbia river, and had we even known the rout we were destitute of horses which would have been indispensibly necessary to enable us to transport the requisite quantity of amunition and other stores to ensure the succeſs of the remaining

part of our voyage down the Columbia; we therefore determined to navigate the Miſsouri as far as it was practicable or untill we met with some of the natives from whom we could obtain horses and information of the country. accordingly we undertook a most laborious portage at the falls of the Miſsouri of 18 miles which we effected with our canoes and baggage by the 3rd. of july. from hence ascending the Miſsouri we entered the Rocky mountains at the distance of 71 miles above the upper part of the portage and penetrated as far as the three forks of that river a distance of 181 miles further; here the Miſsouri divides itself into three nearly equal branches at the same point the two largest branches are so nearly of the same dignity that we did not conceive that either of them could with propryety retain the Name of the Miſsouri and therefore called these three streams Jefferson's Madisons and Gallitin's rivers. the confluence of these rivers is 2848 miles from the mouth of the Miſsouri by the meanders of that river. we arrived at the three forks of the Miſsouri 27th. of July. not having yet been so fortunate as to meet with the natives although I had previously made several excurtions for that purpose we were compelled still to continue our rout by water. the most Northwardly of the three forks, that to which we had given the name of Jefferson's river was deemed the most proper for our purposes and we accordingly ascended it 248 miles to the upper forks it's extreem navigable point, making the total distance to which we had navigated the waters of the Miſsouri 3096 miles of which 429 lay within the Rocky Mountains. on the morning of the 17th of August 1805 I arrived at the forks of Jefferson's river where I met Capt. Lewis who had previously penitrated with a party of three men to the waters of the Columbia discovered a band of Shashones and had found means to induce thirty five of them Chiefs and warriors to accompany him to that place. from these people we learned that the river on which they resided was not navigable and that a passage through the Mountains in that direction was impracticable; being unwilling to confide in the unfavourable account of the natives it was concerted between Capt. Lewis and myself that I should go forward immediately with a small party and explore the river while he in the interem would lay up the canoes at that place and engage the natives with their horses to assist in transporting our stores and baggage to their camp accordingly I set out the next day paſsed the dividing mountains between the waters of the Miſsouri and Columbia and descended the river which I have since called the East fork of Lewis's R. about 70 miles. finding that the Indian account of the country in the direction of this river was correct I returned and joined Capt. Lewis

on the 29th of August at the Shashone Camp excessively fatigued having been compelled to subsist on berries during the greater part of my rout. we now purchased 27 horses of these indians and hired a guide who aſsured us that he could in 15 days take us to a large river in an open country west of these mountains by a rout some distance to the North of the river on which they lived and that by which the nations west of the Mountains visited the plains of the Miſsouri for the purpose of hunting buffaloe. every preparation being made we set forward with our guide on the 31st of August through those tremendious mountains. in which we continued until the 22nd of September before we reached the level country beyond them; on our way we met with the Ootslash-shoot a band of the Tushepahs from whom we obtained an acceſsion of seven horses and exchanged eight or ten others this proved of infinite service to us as we were compelled to subsist on horse beef about eight days before we reached the Kooskooske. during our paſsage over these mountains we suffered everything which hunger cold and fatigue could impose; nor did our difficulties with rispect to provision cease on our arrival at the Kooskooske for although the Palletepallers a numerous nation inhabiting that country were extremly hospitable and for a few trifling articles furnished us with an abundance of roots and dryed salmon the food to which they were accustomed we found that we could not subsist on those articles and almost all of us grew sick on eating them we were obliged therefore to have resourse to the flesh of horses and dogs as food to supply the deficiency of our guns which produced but little meat as game was scarce in the vicinity of our camp on the Kooskooske where we were compelled to remain in order to construct our perogues to decend the river at this season the salmon are meagre and form but indifferent food. while we remained here I was myself sick for several days and my friend Capt. Lewis suffered a severe indisposition. Having completed 4 large perogues and a small canoe we gave our horses in charge to the Pallotepallers untill we returned and on the 7 of Oct. reimbarked for the Pacific Ocean. we decended by the rout which I have already mentioned. the water of the rivers being low at this season we experienced much difficulty in decending, we found them obstructed by a great number of difficult and dangerous rapids in paſsing of which our perogues several times filled and the men escaped narrowly with their lives. however this difficulty dose not exist in high water which happens within the period which I have previously mentioned. we found the natives extremly numerous and generally friendly though we have on several occasions owed our lives and the fate of the expedition to our number which consisted of 31

men. On the 17th. of November we reached the Ocean where various considerations induced us to spend the winter we therefore searched for an eligible situation for that purpose and selected a spot on the S. side of a little river called by the natives the Natul which discharges itself into a small bay on the S. E. side of the Columbia. 14 miles within point Adams. here we constructed some log houses and defended them with a common stoccade work; this place we called Fort Clatsop after a nation of that name who were our nearest neighbours in this country we found an abundance of Elk on which we subsisted principally during the last winter. on our homeward bound voyage being much better acquainted with the country we were enabled to take such precautions as have in a great measure secured us from the want of provision at any time, and greatly lessened our fatigues when compared with those to which we were compelled to submit in our outward bound journey. We left Fort Clatsop on the 23rd. of March we have not lost a man since we left the Mandans a circumstance which I assure you is a pleasing consideration to me. As I shall shortly be with you I deem it unnecessary to here to attempt minutely to detail the occurrances of the last eighteen months — Adieu &c.

LXIII

LAND WARRANTS ISSUED TO EXPLORERS

[From original MS. draft, in Clark's handwriting, in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

St. Louis, October 8th. 1806

We the undersigned having on the 1st. of October 1804, engaged Robert Frazier to accompany us on a voyage of discovery through the Continent of North America to the Pacific Ocean, did then in behalf of the United States bind ourselves to allow the said Robert Frazier for his services on that expedition a compensation in lands equal to that granted by the said States to a soldier of the Revolutionary Army. Now know ye, that the said Frazier having faithfully complyed with the several stipulations of his engagement, the undersigned in their said capacity, do hold themselves bound to the said Frazier his heirs or assigns, for the quantity of lands above stipulated; — given under our hands and seals the day and date above mentioned. [Unsigned]

Received of Meriwether Lewis the land warrants severally issued and granted at the War-Office by virtue of an Act of Congress entitled "An Act making compensation for Messieurs Lewis & Clarke and their companions" in favor of the following persons (to wit) Nathaniel Pryor, Patrick Gass, William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Pierre Cruzatte, Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Thomas P. Howard, Hugh Hall, Francis Labinche, Hugh McNeal, John Shields, George Shannon, John Potts, John B. Thompson, Richard Windsor, Peter M[MS. mutilated]nder Willard, & Joseph Whitehouse; which said warrants I promise and engage to deliver to the several proprietors of the same on application. W. C.

March 9th. 1807.

Test. Hezekeah Rogers C. Swan

LXIV

BRATTON'S DISCHARGE PAPER

[From photograph of original MS., in Wheeler, *On the Trail of Lewis and Clark*, pp. 113, 285.]

S^{T} Louis October 10th 1806

To all whom it may concern

Know ye, that the bearer hereof William Bratton, private in a corps distined for the discovery of the interior of the continent of North America, having faithfully discharged his duty in said capacity so long as his services have been neceſsary to complete the objects of a Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, is in virtue of the authority vested in me by the President of the United States hereby discharged from the military service of the said States; and as a tribute justly due the merits of the said Will^{m} Bratton, I with cheerfullneſs declare that the ample support which he gave me under every difficulty, the manly firmneſs which he evinced on every neceſsary occation, and the fortitude with which he boar the fatugues and painfull sufferings incident to that long Voyage, entitles him to my highest confidence and sincere thanks; while it eminently recommends him to the consideration and rispect of his fellow Citizens

Meriwether Lewis Cap^{t}
1st U. S., Regt. Infty.

I certify that the within named W^{m} Bratton has received from me all arrears of pay cloathing and rations due him by the United States from the date of his enlistment to the present date

October 10th 1806 ——

Meriwether Lewis Capt.
1st U. S. Reg^{t} Infty.

LXV

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 2, vol. 51, doc. 117.]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20, 06.

I RECIEVED, my dear Sir, with unspeakable joy your letter of Sep. 23 announcing the return of yourself, Capt Clarke & your party in good health to S[t] Louis. The unknown scenes in which you were engaged & the length of time without hearing of you had begun to be felt awfully. Your letter having been 31 [27 ?] days coming, this cannot find you at Louisville, & I therefore think it safest to lodge it at Charlottesville, it's only object is to assure you of what you already know, my constant affection for you & the joy with which all your friends here will receive you, tell my friend of Mandane also that I have already opened my arms to recieve him. Perhaps, while in our neighborhood, it may be gratifying to him, & not otherwise to yourself to take a ride to Monticello and see in what manner I have arranged the tokens of friendship I have received from his country particularly, as well as from other Indian friends: that in fact I am preparing a kind of Indian hall. mr Dinsmore, my principal workman will shew everything there. had you not better bring him [Mandan] by Richmond, Fredericksburg & Alexandria? he will thus see what none of the others have visited, & and the convenience of the public stages will facilitate your taking that route.

I salute you with sincere affection.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Capt. M. Lewis.

LXVI

PART OF JEFFERSON'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DEC. 2, 1806

[From Ford, viii, p. 492.]

THE expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific ocean, ascertained with accuracy the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learned the character of the country, of its commerce, and inhabitants; and it is but justice to say that Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have by this arduous service deserved well of their country.

LXVII

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER NOTICES

THE first newspaper notices of the return of the expedition appear to have been based on letters from residents of St. Louis, or others who were personally interested in the affair. The following are excerpts from and summaries of the most important of these notices:

Extract from letter to editors of the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, under date of St. Louis, September 23, 1806:[1]

Concerning the safe arrival of Messrs. Lewis and Clark, who went 2 years and 4 months ago to explore the Missouri, to be anxiously wished for by everyone, I have the pleasure to mention that they arrived here about one hour ago, in good health, with only the loss of one man who died. They visited the Pacific Ocean, which they left on the 27th of March last. They would have been here about the 1st of August, but for the detention they met with from snow and frost in crossing mountains on which are eternal snows. Their journal will no doubt be not only importantly interesting to us all, but a fortune for the worthy and laudable adventurers. When they arrived 3 cheers were fired. They really have the appearance of Robinson Crusoes — dressed entirely in buckskins. We shall know all very soon — I have had no particulars yet.

Letter in the Philadelphia *Register* for October 28, 1806, taken from "a Kentucky paper" of October 4:[2]

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 23, 1806

DEAR SIR — Captains Lewis and Clark are just arrived, all in good health. They left the Pacific Ocean the 23d of March last — they wintered there.

[1] This was copied in Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, October 27; in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, October 28; and abridged in the Boston *Centinel*, November 5. — ED.

[2] This was copied in the *Philadelphia Aurora*, October 29; and in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, October 29. — ED.

They arrived there in last November ; there was some American vessels there just before their arrival. They had to pack one hundred and sixty miles from the head of the Missouri to Columbia river. — One of the hands, an intelligent man, tells me that Indians are as numerous on Columbia as the whites are in any part of the U States — They brought but one family of Indians, of the Mandan nation. They have brought several curiosities with them from the ocean. The Indians are represented as being very peaceable. The winter was very mild on the Pacific.

I am your's &c

JOHN MULLANPHY

P. S. They left St. Charles May 20th, 1804, and returned there September 21st, 1806. J. M.

Extract from "a letter from a gentleman at St. Charles, to a gentleman in this town, dated 23d September, 1806," in the Frankfort (Ky.) *Palladium* for October 9, 1806 :[1]

I have the pleasure to inform you of the arrival of Captains Lewis and Clark. They were the first white people that ever visited that country. By the best accounts they could get there are about ninety or one hundred thousand inhabitants, (Indians) on the west side of the Rocky mountains ; horses without number. It is thought to be a very poor Indian that did not own 300 horses. Not an iron tool among them. — They erected a fort on the sea shore and engraved their names. They have a number of curiosities ; among which is a wild sheep ; its head and horns weigh about 80 or 90 pounds. He was caught on the Rocky Mountains.

Summary of official report, in the *National Intelligencer* for October 27, 1806 :[2]

[1] This was copied in the Washington *National Intelligencer*, November 3, 1806, with words "this town" changed to "Washington City." From the *Intelligencer* it was copied in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, November 7 ; in the *Vermont Centinel*, Burlington, November 20; and in the *Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, November 19. The heading in the latter was "More Wonders. Rocky Mountain Sheep beats the horned frog *all hollow*." — ED.

[2] This was copied in numerous papers ; among others, Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, October 30 ; the *Connecticut Witness*, Hartford, November 5 ; Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, October 29 ; the *Philadelphia Aurora*, October 30. This article is based on Lewis's letter to the president ; see document lxi, *ante*. — ED.

It is a pleasure to announce the arrival of Captain Lewis with his exploring party at St. Louis. They wintered near the mouth of the Columbia river; leaving thence Mar. 27, were detained by snows in the mountains until June 24. He found it 2575 miles from the mouth of Missouri to the great falls; thence by land over the Rocky mountains 340 miles, of which 200 would admit a good road, the rest over tremendous mountains. Then 73 miles down the Kooskooske into a south eastwardly branch of the Columbia, 154 miles down that to the Columbia, and then 413 miles to the Pacific; 3555 miles in all. Speaks of the whole country furnishing valuable furs. Says it was fortunate he sent no men back, since they owed their lives more than once to their numbers. Captain Lewis will remain a few days in St. Louis, and then proceed to Washington accompanied by the Mandan chief. He speaks of his colleague Captain Clark in the most affectionate terms, and ascribes to him an equal share in the success of this enterprise.

Summary of article from the New York *Gazette*:[1]

Have lately been told that Mr. Lewis and party passed last winter near mouth of Columbia, this is in lat. 46, 19′ N. and long. 123°, 38′ W. from London; it was named by Captain Gray in 1791 or '92, for his ship, and the southern cape for the late president Adams. The bay is some miles broad and 20 or 30 long; the tide rises 12 feet at the mouth of the river, but the current is so strong it does not run up it more than 60 miles. The river and its tributary streams abound in salmon. The timber is pine, maple, ash, poplar, and oak. The natives are badly armed, though some have copper swords.

The head of Columbia river lies south of the 45th degree; the distance from the mouth of the Missouri to that of the Columbia is 1440 miles in a direct course, which will probably never be travelled.

Letter in the *Philadelphia Aurora*, December 22, 1806:

FRANKFORT, (KENTUCKY), Nov. 20

Captain Lewis arrived at this place on Thursday last, and on Saturday morning proceeded on his journey to the city of Washington, by way of the old wilderness road. He was accompanied by the chief of the Mandane Indians; and a party of the Osages. Mr. Choteau, with the latter, took their route through Lexington.

[1] Copied in Relf's *Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, November 26; and the *Philadelphia Aurora*, November 29. — ED.

Note in the *Philadelphia Aurora*, December 24, 1806:

Mr. Choteau with a party of the Osage Indians has arrived in Washington. Captain Lewis, accompanied by the Mandane chief is also expected every day.

Note in Relf's *Philadephia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, January 5, 1807:

Captain Lewis and the Indians who came with him on his return from the Pacific, were, it is said, at the President's levee day.

LXVIII

AN ADDRESS FROM CITIZENS OF FINCASTLE AND VICINITY, AND CLARK'S REPLY THERETO

[From original MSS. in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

[I. THE ADDRESS]

An address from the Citizens of Fincastle & its vicinity to Captains Meriwether Lewis & William Clarke — 8th of January 1807

Gentlemen: Sentiments of esteem and gratitude induce us to offer you our sincere congratulations, upon your safe return to the bosom of your country. During your absence upon a perilous & laborious service, we have reflected with the deepest solicitude, on the dangers which you must neceſsarily encounter. Our anxiety for your safety, and that of the party under your command, is now happily terminated. Your prudence, courage and good conduct have afforded us an oppertunety of yielding, without restraint to those emotions of Joy so natural to the mind, after having experienced a painful suspence. To those, who have acted so distinguished & honorable apart on the theatre of human affairs, future life cannot but afford the most soothing recollections. In whatever situation it may hereafter please the Supreme Being to place you, it will be a source of unmixed gratification to remember that in order to meet the just expectations, which your appointment by Government had excited, you have navigated bold & unknown rivers, traversed Mountains, which had never before been impreſsed with the footsteps of civilized man, and surmounted every obstacle, which climate, Nature, or ferocious savages could throw in your way. You have the further satisfaction to reflect that, you have extended the knowledge of the Geography of your country; in other respects enriched Science; and opened to the United States a source of inexhaustable wealth, no event, which occurred during the expedition, can, in the smallest degree, impair the force of those solacing reflections. You

have uniformly respected the rights of humanity, actuated by principles of genuine philanthropy, you have not sprinkled your path with the blood of unoffending savages. Your fame will be as pure and unsullied, as of that great man to whom Europe is indebted for a knowledge of our continent; the extent and importance of which, it has been reserved for you to disclose to the world.

We concieve it to be a signal proof of the wisdom and attention with which you have conducted the expedition, that but one man has been lost to your country. This fact will afford to future travellers the most salutary instruction. It will teach them, that, discoveries (apparently the most difficult) may be effected without the effusion of human blood.

You will, Gentlemen, indulge us in declaring it as our opinion, that the rewards, which a grateful country may think proper to bestow, ought not to be apportioned to common merit or services; but that the recompence to yourselves and to each individual under your command should be such as, in some measure, to atone for past Perils, difficulties and Privations.

With great respect we are Gent^{n}
your Humble Serv^{ts}
PAT LOCKHART, Chairman,
By order & on behalf of the
Citizens of Fincastle &^{c}

Captains LEWIS & CLARKE.

[II. CLARK'S REPLY THERETO]

GENTLEMEN: Those sentiments of esteem and solicitude for our personal safety expreſsed in your affectionate addreſs has excited in me the livelyest sencibility. — To meet with the approbation of our country for the attempt which has been made to render services to the government by Cap^{t} Lewis Myself and the party that accompanied us, is a source of the highest gratification. It will be a pleasing reflection in future life to find that the expedition has been productive of those advantages to our Country, Geography, and science that you are willing to imagine. To respect the rights of humanity has and ever will be the leading principal of my life, and no reflection is more pleasing to me than that of effecting the object we had in view with the effusion of so small a portion of human blood.

Gentlemen we ought to aſsign the general safety of the party to a singular interposition of providence, and not to the wisdom of those

who commanded the expedition. Your anxiety that our country should reward our services with liberality, produces in me those emmotions natural to the mind, at the same time acknowledging our uniform confidence not only in the justice but the liberality of our Country.

The friendly attention manifested towards us by many of our fellow citizens is highly flattering, but the distinguished attention shewn to me by the Citizens of Fincastle & its vicinity produces those emmotions which I am unable to discribe. I will do my self the Honor to hand Cap^{t} Lewis and make known to the faithfull party that accompanied us your friendly addreſs, which I will undertake to say for them will be justly appreciated.

You will please Gentlemen except of the best wishes of your most obedient Humble Servant

W. Clarke

To the Citizens of Fincastle and its vicinity

LXIX

GRATUITIES TO THE OFFICERS AND MEN IN THE EXPEDITION TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, UNDER LEWIS AND CLARK

[From *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, i, no. 68, pp. 207–209.]

Communicated to the House of Representatives, January 23, 1807.

COMMITTEE ROOM, January 12, 1807.

SIR: The committee to whom has been referred a resolution of the House of Representatives, to inquire what compensation ought to be made to Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, for their late service in exploring the Western waters, have instructed me to request that you will furnish them with such information, in the possession of the Department of War, as you may deem necessary to guide the committee in establishing their rate of compensation; also a list of the names of the officers, and their respective grades, and the names of the soldiers under their command.

From your most obedient servant,

WILLIS ALSTON, Jun.

Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, January 14, 1807.

SIR: Agreeably to the request of the committee, as expressed in your letter of the 12th inst., I herewith transmit a list of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who formed the party recently returned from an enterprise, which they commenced and prosecuted with a degree of boldness, perseverance, judgment, and success, that has rarely, if ever, occurred, in this or any other country.

The officers and soldiers will receive their usual compensations from this Department, up to the time of their return to St. Louis.

The quantum of gratuity, either in land or money, or in both, to which such meritorious and unusual services may be entitled, on the score of national justice, or on the principles of sound policy and

national liberality, being principally a matter of opinion, it is with diffidence I take the liberty of proposing, for the consideration of the committee, a grant to each non-commissioned officer and private, of 320 acres of land; to Lieut. Clarke, of 1000; and to Captain Lewis, of 1,500; with the addition of double pay to each while engaged in the enterprise; and that each one should have permission to locate his grant on any lands that have been surveyed, and are now for sale by the United States.

It may be proper for me to remark, that, in a conversation with Captain Lewis, he observed, that whatever grant of land Congress might think proper to make, to himself and Lieutenant Clarke, it was his wish there should be no distinction of rank so noticed as to make a difference in the quantity granted to each; and that he would prefer an equal division of whatever quantity might be granted to them.

I also transmit, herewith, the letter from Captain Lewis to the Secretary of War, which accompanied said list.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. WILLIS ALSTON, Chairman, &c.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, January 15, 1807.

SIR: Herewith enclosed I transmit you the roll of the men who accompanied me on my late tour to the Pacific Ocean, through the interior of the continent of North America.

In addition to the men whose names are entered on this roll, there are two others who have some claims to a gratuity, as connected with the expedition; but as I cannot consider them, in all respects, as of the permanent party, I have thought their pretensions more properly the subjects of this detached communication, than of the roll which accompanies it.

Richard Warfington was a corporal in the infantry of the United States' army, whom I had occasion to take with me on my voyage as far as the Mandan nation. His term of service expired on the 4th of August, 1804, nearly three months previous to my arrival at that place. Knowing that it would become necessary for me to send back my boat in the spring of 1805, with a party of soldiers, whose terms of service had not expired; that it was of some importance that the Government should receive, in safety, the despatches which I was about to transmit from thence; that there was not one of the party, destined to be returned from thence, in whom I could place the least confidence, except him-

self; and that, if he was discharged at the moment of the expiration of his term of service, he would necessarily lose his military standing, and thereby lessen the efficiency of his command among the soldiery; I was induced, under these considerations, to make an arrangement with him, by which it was agreed between us, that he should not receive his discharge from the military service until his return to St. Louis, and that he should, in the interim, retain his rank, and receive only for his services the accustomed compensation. Accordingly, he remained with me during the winter, and was, the next spring, in conformity to my plan, placed in command of the boat, and charged with my despatches to the Government. The duties assigned him on this occasion, were performed with a punctuality which uniformly marked his conduct while under my command. Taking into view the cheerfulness with which he continued in the service after every obligation had ceased to exist from his enlistment; the fatigues, labor, and dangers, incident to that service; and, above all, the fidelity with which he discharged his duty; it would seem, that when rewards were about to be distributed among those of the party who were engaged in this enterprise, that his claim to something more than his pay of seven dollars per month, as corporal, cannot be considered unreasonable.

John Newman was a private in the infantry of the United States' army, who joined me as a volunteer, and entered into an enlistment, in common with others, by which he was held and mustered as one of the permanent party. In the course of the expedition, or shortly before we arrived at the Mandan village, he committed himself by using certain mutinous expressions, which caused me to arrest him, and to have him tried by a court martial, formed of his peers: they, finding him guilty, sentenced him to receive seventy-five lashes, and to be discharged from the permanent party. This sentence was confirmed by me, and the punishment took place. The conduct of this man, previous to this period, had been generally correct; and the zeal he afterwards displayed for the benefit of the service, was highly meritorious. In the course of the winter, while at Fort Mandan, from an ardent wish to atone for the crime which he had committed at an unguarded moment, he exerted himself, on every occasion, to become useful. This disposition induced him to expose himself too much to the intense cold of that climate, and on a hunting excursion, he had his hands and feet severely frozen, with which he suffered extreme pain, for some weeks. Having recovered from this accident by the 1st of April, 1805, he asked forgiveness for what had passed, and begged that I would permit him to continue with me through the voyage; but deeming it impolitic to relax from the sen-

tence, although he stood acquitted in my mind, I determined to send him back, which was accordingly done. Since my return I have been informed that he was extremely serviceable as a hunter, on the voyage to St. Louis, and that the boat, on several occasions, owed her safety, in a great measure, to his personal exertions, being a man of uncommon activity and bodily strength. If, under these circumstances, it should be thought proper to give Newman the remaining third which will be deducted from the gratuity awarded Baptiste Le Page, who occupied his station in the after part of the voyage, I should feel myself much gratified.

I have the honor to be, with due consideration, and much respect, your obedient servant,

MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Captain, 1st U. S. Reg't Infantry.

Gen. H. DEARBORN, Secretary of War.

A Roll of the men who accompanied Captains Lewis and Clarke on their late tour to the Pacific Ocean, through the interior of the continent of North America, showing their rank, with some remarks on their respective merits and services.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Remarks.
1	John Ordway,	Sergeant.	
2	Nathaniel Pryor,	Do.	
3	Charles Floyd,	Do.	Deceased the 20th of August, 1804. A young man of much merit. His father, who now resides in Kentucky, is a man much respected, though possessed of but moderate wealth. As the son has lost his life whilst on this service, I consider his father entitled to some gratuity, in consideration of his loss; and also, that the deceased being noticed in this way, will be a tribute but justly due to his merit.
4	Patrick Gass,	Do.	Promoted to sergeant, 20th of August, 1804, in the place of Charles Floyd, deceased; in which capacity he continued until discharged at St. Louis, November 10, 1806.
5	William Bratton,	Private,	
6	John Collins,	Do.	
7	John Colter,	Do.	
8	Pierre Cruzatte,	Do.	

No.	Names.	Rank.	Remarks.
9	Joseph Field,	Do.	Two of the most active and enterprising young men who accompanied us. It was their peculiar fate to have been engaged in all the most dangerous and difficult scenes of the voyage, in which they uniformly acquitted themselves with much honor.
10	Reuben Field,	Do.	
11	Robert Frazier,	Do.	
12	Silas Goodrich,	Do.	
13	George Gibson,	Do.	
14	Thomas P. Howard,	Do.	
15	Hugh Hall,	Do.	
16	Francis Labuiche,	Do.	He has received the pay only of a private, though, besides the duties performed as such, he has rendered me very essential services as a French and English interpreter; therefore, I should think it only just that some small addition to his pay, as a private, should be added, though no such addition has, at any time, been promised by me.
17	Hugh M'Neal,	Do.	
18	John Sheilds,	Do.	Has received the pay only of a private. Nothing was more peculiarly useful to us, in various situations, than the skill and ingenuity of this man as an artist, in repairing our guns, accoutrements, &c. and should it be thought proper to allow him something as an artificer, he has well deserved it.
19	George Shannon,	Do.	
20	John Potts,	Do.	
21	John Baptiste Le Page,	Do.	Entitled to no peculiar merit: was enlisted at Fort Mandan, on the 2d of November, 1804, in order to supply the deficiency in my permanent party, occasioned by the discharge of John Newman. He performed the tour to the Pacific Ocean, and returned to St. Louis, where he was discharged, in common with others, on the 10th of November last. As he did not perform the labors incident to the summer of 1804, it would be proper to give him the gratuity only of two-thirds as much as is given to others of his rank.
22	John B. Thompson,	Do.	
23	William Werner,	Do.	
24	Richard Windsor,	Do.	
25	Peter Wiser,	Do.	
26	Alexander Willard,	Do.	
27	Joseph Whitehouse,	Do.	

No.	Names.	Rank.	Remarks.
28	George Drulyard,	Interpreter.	A man of much merit; he has been peculiarly useful from his knowledge of the common language of gesticulation, and his uncommon skill as a hunter and woodsman; those several duties he performed in good faith, and with an ardor which deserves the highest commendation. It was his fate also to have encountered, on various occasions, with either Captain Clarke or myself, all the most dangerous and trying scenes of the voyage, in which he uniformly acquitted himself with honor. He has served the complete term of the whole tour, and received only 25 dollars per month, and one ration per day, while I am informed that it is not unusual for individuals, in similar employments, to receive 30 dollars per month.
29	Touisant Charbono,	Interpreter.	A man of no peculiar merit; was useful as an interpreter only, in which capacity he discharged his duties with good faith, from the moment of our departure from the Mandans, on the 7th of April, 1805, until our return to that place in August last, and received, as a compensation, 25 dollars per month, while in service.

General Remark.

With respect to all those persons whose names are entered on this roll, I feel a peculiar pleasure in declaring, that the ample support which they gave me under every difficulty; the manly firmness which they evinced on every necessary occasion; and the patience and fortitude with which they submitted to, and bore, the fatigues and painful sufferings incident to my late tour to the Pacific Ocean, entitles them to my warmest approbation and thanks; nor will I suppress the expression of a hope, that the recollection of services, thus faithfully performed, will meet a just reward, in an ample remuneration on the part of our Government.

MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Captain 1st U. S. Reg't Inf.

City of Washington, January 15, 1807.

LXX

DRAFT OF RECEIPT

[From original MS. in possession of Mrs. Julia

We the Subscribers do acknowledge to have received of the War department pursuant to an Act of Congress bearing date March & Clark and their companions." — Signed Duplicates.

Nº	Names	Rank	Commencement of Service, and settlement as per pay Roll
1	John Ordway	Sergeant	1st of January 1804
2	Nathaniel Pryor	ditto	20th of October 1803
3	Charles Floyd	ditto	1st of August 1803
4	Patrick Gaſs	ditto	1st of January 1804
5	William Bratton	private	20th of October 1803
6	John Collins	do	1st of January 1804
7	John Colter	do	15th of October 1803
8	Pierre Cruzatte	do	16th of May 1804
9	Joseph Fields	do	1st of August 1803
10	Reubin Fields	do	1st of August 1803
11	Robert Frazier	do	1st of January 1804
12	Silas Goodrich	do	1st of Janʏ. 1804
13	George Gibson	do	19th of October 1803
14	Thomas Proctor Howard	do	1st January 1804
15	Hugh Hale	do	1st of Janʏ 1804
16	Francis Labieche	do	16th of May 1804
17	Hugh McNeal	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
18	John Shields	do	19th of Octob: 1803
19	George Shannon	do	19th of Octr 1803
20	John Potts	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
21	John Baptiest la page	do	2nd of Novr 1804
22	John B. Thompson	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
23	William Werner	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
24	Richard Windser	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
25	Peter Wiser	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
26	Alexander Willard	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
27	Joseph Whitehouse	do	1st of Janʏ : 1804
28	Richard Warfington	Corporal	14th of May 1804
29	John Newmon	Private	14th of May 1804
30	George Drullier	Interpreter	1st of January 1804
31	Touiasant Charbono	ditto	7th of April 1805

LXX

FOR COMPENSATION

Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

several sums set opposit to our names, the same being due us from the the 3rd. 1807. entitled " an Act makeing compensation to Messrs. Lewis

Ending of pay as per pay Roll at the expiration of Service	Time paid for		Pay per Month	Amount of Pay Received		Signers Names	Witnefs
	Months	Days		Dollars	cents		
10th of October 1806	33	10	8	266	66 2/3		
10th of October 1806	35	20	5 & 8	278	50–		
20th of August 1804	12	20	5 & 8	86	33 1/3		
10th of October 1806	33	10	5 & 8	243	66 2/3		
10th of October 1806	35	20	5	178	33 1/3		
ditto ditto	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	35	26	5	179	33. 1/3		
do do	28	25	5	144	16. 2/3		
do do	38	10	5	191	66. 2/3		
do do	38	10	5	191	66. 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	35	21	5	178	50.		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	28	25	5	144	66. 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	35	21	5	178	50.		
do do	35	21	5	178	50.		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	22	9	5	111	50.		
do do	33	10	5	166	66 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66. 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66 2/3		
do do	33	10	5	166	66 2/3		
1st of June 1805	12	17	7	99	96 2/3		
1st of June 1805	12	17	5	62	83 1/3		
10th of October 1806	33	10	25	833	33 1/3		
17th of August 1806	16	11	25	409	16 2/3		

LXXI

CLARK TO MAJOR EDMUND CLARK[1]

[From original MS. in library of Wisconsin Historical Society — Draper MSS., 2L60.]

CITY OF WASHINGTON 5th of March 1807.

DEAR BROTHER: I have not had the pleasure of more than one letter from you since I arrived at this place, congress adjourned last night at 11 p. m. Mr. J. Randolph being unwell no debate interesting took place as usial at the last of the Session. a Bill has passed allowing Lewis & Clark and their companions compensation to Capt. L. & myself each 1600 acres, and to each man 320 acres to be laid off on the West Side of the R Mississippi; and double pay to all. Capt. Lewis is Appointed Govr. of Louisiana. Col. Tho: Todd of Frankfort is ap· Supreme Judge of the Kentucky Ohio & Tenissee Circuit. The President thought proper to nomonate me as Lt. Col: to one of the regiments which was rejected by the Senate on the Grounds of braking through a Principal. I am truly gratified to find that in this decision of the Senate they as I am told unanimussly agreed that they would confirm any other nomonation in the gift of the government. A copy of the British treaty was receved by the british minister last evening. I shall leave this place for the Western Country on Monday and Shall go by the Southern rout, Stay a fiew days in Kentucky and proceed on to St. Louis. to Send off the Mandan Chief to his nation. I have become quit[e] a galant and somewhat taken with the fair creatures. please to present me to all friends. I expect my brother Jona: is now on his way to Virginia. no news worth your attention which can be relyed on.

You sincere & affectionate brother

WM CLARK

Majr. Edmd. Clark.

[Endorsed :] Major Edmund Clark near Louisville Kentucky

[1] Maj. Edmund Clark was an older brother of William, being born September 25, 1762. He entered the Eighth Virginia Regiment as lieutenant, and served through the Revolutionary War, being taken prisoner at Charleston, and exchanged in 1782. He went into business in Caroline County, Va., and removed to Kentucky about 1800, where he died March 11, 1815. — ED.

LXXII

LEWIS'S PROSPECTUS, 1807[1]

[From original broadside in possession of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.]

PROSPECTUS OF LEWIS AND CLARK'S TOUR TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN THROUGH THE INTERIOR OF THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA, performed by order of the government of the United States, during the years 1804, 1805, & 1806.

This work will be prepared by Captain Meriwether Lewis, and will be divided into two parts, the whole comprised in three volumes octavo, the first containing at least seven hundred pages, the second and third from four to five hundred each, printed on good paper, and a fair Pica

[1] The prospectus was issued in two forms, octavo and folio. The only copies known to be extant — one of the former and two of the latter — are in the possession of Mrs. and Miss Voorhis. They were evidently the personal copies retained by Lewis, and, together with accompanying letters, bear the names of the following subscribers: Luther Robbins, Benjamin Alden, John Cole, and William Gilbert, of Greene, Me., subscribed jointly for the three volumes; while John Chancellor, of Monmouth, Me., Peter Norton, of Readfield, Me., and M^el^ Amoureux, of New Madrid, La. T., subscribed for the first two volumes only.

On one of the scraps of paper folded among these documents are inscribed the following memoranda in Lewis's hand, evidently appertaining to his preparations for this venture:

"enquire what has been done by G.L. with Calulations — engraving Printing Botany The papers relitive — Samples,

"if a man can be got to go to S^t^ Louis with me to write the journal & price

"The price of engraving animals Inds & maps Paper & other expences

"Get some one to write the scientific part & natural history — Botany, Mineralogy & Zoology.

"Praries — Muddiness of the Missouri. Volcanic apper^s^ Natural Phenomena — 23 vocabularies & plates & engraving"

This receipt also appears, showing that he had thus early obtained assistance in the map-making:

"Rcd of Governor Lewis the Sum of Forty Dollar for two Drawings water falls in full

"July 14 1807 JOHN JAMES BURRAHT."

type. The several volumes in succession will be put to press at as early periods as the avocations of the author will permit him to prepare them for publication.

Part the First: in two volumes.

Volume First,

Will contain a narrative of the voyage, with a description of some of the most remarkable places in those hitherto unknown wilds of America, accompanied by a map of good size, a large chart of the entrance of the Columbia river, embracing the adjacent country, coast and harbours, and embellished with views of two beautiful cataracts of the Missouri; the plan, on a large scale, of the connected falls of that river, as also of those of the falls, narrows, and great rapids of the Columbia, with their several portages. For the information of future voyagers, there will be added in the sequel of this volume, some observations and remarks on the navigation of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, pointing out the precautions which must necessarily be taken, in order to ensure success, together with an itinerary of the most direct and practicable route across the continent of North America, from the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers to the discharge of the Columbia into the Pacific Ocean.

Volume Second.

Whatever properly appertains to geography, embracing a description of the rivers, mountains, climate, soil and face of the country; a view of the Indian nations distributed over that vast region, showing their traditions, habits, manners, customs, national characters, stature, complexions, dress, dwelling, arms, and domestic utensils, with many other interesting particulars in relation to them: also observations and reflections on the subjects of civilizing, governing and maintaining a friendly intercourse with those nations. A view of the fur trade of North America, setting forth a plan for its extension, and showing the immense advantages which would accrue to the mercantile interests of the United States, by combining the same with a direct trade to the East Indies through the continent of North America. This volume will be embellished with twenty plates illustrative of the dress and general appearance of such Indian nations as differ materially from each other; of their habitations; their weapons and habiliments used in war; their hunting and fishing apparatus, domestic utensils, &c. In an appendix there will also be given a diary of the weather, kept with great attention through-

out the whole of the voyage, showing also the daily rise and fall of the principal water-courses which were navigated in the course of the same.

Part the Second: in one volume.

This part of the work will be confined exclusively to scientific research. and principally to the natural history of those hitherto unknown regions. It will contain a full dissertation on such subjects as have fallen within the notice of the author, and which may properly be distributed under the heads of Botany, Mineralogy, and Zoology, together with some strictures on the origin of Prairies, the cause of the muddiness of the Missouri, of volcanic appearances, and other natural phenomena, which were met with in the course of this interesting tour. This volume will also contain a comparative view of twenty three vocabularies of distinct Indian languages, procured by Captains Lewis and Clark on the voyage, and will be ornamented and embellished with a much greater number of plates than will be bestowed on the first part of the work, as it is intended that every subject of natural history which is entirely new, and of which there are a considerable number, shall be accompanied by an appropriate engraving illustrative of it.

This distribution of the work has been made with a view to the accommodation of every description of readers, and is here offered to the patronage of the public in such shape, that all persons wishing to become subscribers, may accommodate themselves with either of the parts, or the entire work, as it shall be most convenient to them.

*** Subscriptions received by C. and A. Conrad and Co. (late John Conrad and Co.) No. 30, Chestnut-street, Philadelphia.

Detached from this work, there will be published,

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, from longitude 9° west to the Pacific Ocean, and between 36° and 52° north latitude, with extensive marginal notes, dimensions five feet eight inches by three feet ten inches,

Embracing all their late discoveries, and that part of the continent heretofore the least known. This Map will be compiled from the best maps now extant, as well published as in manuscript; from the collective information of the best informed travellers through the various portions of that region, and corrected by a series of several hundred celestial observations, made by Captain Lewis during his late tour.

For the convenience of subscribers, these several works will be delivered at the most respectable commercial towns, and at the seats of government of the respective states and territories within the Union: no advance is required, nor will payment be demanded until such delivery is made.

The price of part the first, in two volumes, will be ten dollars, and that of part the second, in one volume, eleven dollars, delivered in boards. Price of the Map, ten dollars.

*** Any persons who may have subscribed for these works, to lists which contained no stipulated prices for the same, and who may be dissatisfied with the terms now proposed, are at liberty to withdraw their names from such lists, at any time prior to the first day of December next.

PHILADELPHIA, June 3d, 1807. M. LEWIS.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES	Lewis and Clark's Tour. No. of Copies.		Lewis & Clark's Map of North America.
	Part 1st	Part 2d	No. of Copies.

LXXIII

JEFFERSON TO LEWIS

[From original MS. in Bureau of Rolls — Jefferson Papers, series 5, vol. 16, doc. 7 k.]

MONTICELLO Aug. 16. 09

DEAR SIR This will be handed you — mr Bradbury, an English botanist, who proposes to take St Louis in his botanising tour. he came recommended to me by mr Roscoe of Liverpool, so well known by his histories of Lorenzo of Medicis & Leo X. & who is president of the Botanical society of Liverpool. mr Bradbury comes out in their employ, & having kept him here about ten days, I have had an opportunity of knowing that besides being a botanist of the first order, he is a man of entire worth & correct conduct. as such I recommend him to your notice, advice & patronage, while within your government or it's confines. perhaps you can consult no abler hand on your Western botanical observations. I am very often applied to to know when your work will begin to appear; and I have so long promised copies to my literary correspondents in France, that I am almost bankrupt in their eyes. I shall be very happy to receive from yourself information of your expectations on this subject. every body is impatient for it.

You have seen by the papers how dirty a trick has been played us by England. I consider all amicable arrangement with that nation as desperate during the life of the present king. there is some ground to expect more justice from Napoleon. & this is perhaps favored by the signal defeat he has suffered in the battle of the Danube, which has obliged him to retreat & remain stationary at Vienna, till his army, literally cut up, can be reinforced. in the mean time, the spell of his invincibility being broken, he is in danger of an universal insurrection against him in Europe. your friends here are well, & have been long in expectation of seeing you. I shall hope in that case to possess a due portion of you at Monticello, where I am at length enjoying the never before known luxury of employing myself for my own gratification only. present my friendly salutations to Genl Clarke, and be assured yourself of my constant & unalterable affections.

Govr Lewis TH: JEFFERSON

LXXIV

LEWIS TO MAJOR AMOS STODDARD

[From original MS. in possession of Missouri Historical Society.]

FORT PICKERING CHICKESAW BLUFFS,
September 22nd, 1809.

DEAR MAJR: I must acknowledge myself remiss in not writing you in answer to several friendly epistles which I have received from you since my return from the Pacific Ocean. continued occupation in the immediate discharge of the duties of a public station will I trust in some measure plead my apology.

I am now on my way to the city of Washington and had contemplated taking Fort Adams and Orlianes in my rout, but my indisposition has induced me to change my rout and shall now pass through Tennessee and Virginia, the protest of some bills which I have lately drawn on public account form the principal inducement for my going forward at this moment. an explanation is all that is necessary I am sensible to put all matters right, in the mean time the protest of a draught however just has drawn upon me at one moment all my private debts which have excessively embarrassed me. I hope you will therefore pardon me for asking you to remit as soon as is convenient the sum of $200 which you have informed me you hold for me I calculated on having the pleasure to see you at Fort Adams as I passed, but am informed by Capt Russel the commanding officer of this place that you are stationed on the West side of the Mississippi.

You will direct to me at the City of Washington untill the last of December after which I expect I shall be on my return to St. Louis.

Your sincere friend, &

Obt servant

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

[Superscription :] "To Maj. Amos Stoddard. Fort. Adams. Readdressed to Washington City."

LXXV

LEWIS'S OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON UPPER LOUISIANA, 1809

[Appendix to Biddle version (1814), ii, pp. 435–461.]

OBSERVATIONS and reflections on the present and future state of Upper Louisiana, in relation to the government of the Indian nations inhabiting that country, and the trade and intercourse with the same. By captain Lewis.

With a view to a more complete development of this subject, I have deemed it expedient in the outset, to state the leading measures pursued by the provincial government of Spain, in relation to this subject; the evils which flowed from those measures, as well to the Indians as to the whites, in order that we may profit by their errors, and be ourselves the better enabled to apply the necessary correctives to the remnant of evils which their practice introduced.

From the commencement of the Spanish provincial government in Louisiana, whether by the permission of the crown, or originating in the pecuniary rapacity of their governors general, this officer assumed to himself exclusively the right of trading with all the Indian nations in Louisiana; and therefore proceeded to dispose of this privilege to individuals, for certain specific sums: his example was imitated by the governors of Upper Louisiana, who made a further exaction. Those exclusive permissions to individuals varied as to the extent of country or nations they embraced, and the period for which granted; but in all cases the exclusive licenses were offered to the highest bidder, and, consequently, the sums paid by the individuals purchasing, were quite as much as the profits of the trade would bear, and in many instances, from a spirit of opposition between contending applicants, much more was given than ever the profits of the traffic would justify. The individual, of course, became bankrupt. This, however, was among the least of the evils flowing from this system to the Indian; it produced the evil of compelling him to pay such enormous sums for the articles he

purchased, that his greatest exertions would not enable him to obtain as much as he had previously been in the habit of consuming, and which he therefore conceived necessary to him; for as this system progressed the demands of the governors became more exorbitant, and the trader, to meet his engagements, exacted higher prices from the Indians, though the game became scarcer in their country. The morals of the Indian were corrupted by placing before him the articles which he viewed as of the first necessity to him, at such prices, that he had it not in his power to purchase; he was therefore induced, in many instances, to take by force that which he had not the means of paying for; consoling himself with the idea, that the trader was compelled of necessity to possess himself of the peltries and furs, in order to meet his engagements with those from whom he had purchased his merchandise, as well as those who had assisted him in their transportation. He consequently could not withdraw himself from their trade, without inevitable ruin. The prevalence of this sentiment among the Indians, was strongly impressed on my mind by an anecdote related to me by a gentleman, who had for several years enjoyed, under the Spanish government, the exclusive privilege of trading with the Little Osages. It happened, that after he had bartered with them for all their peltries and furs which they had on hand, that they seized forcibly on a number of guns and a quantity of ammunition which he had still remaining; he remonstrated with them against this act of violence, and finally concluded by declaring that he would never return among them again, nor would he suffer any person to bring them merchandise thereafter. They heard him out very patiently, when one of their leaders pertly asked him; if he did not return the next season to obtain their peltries and furs, how he intended to pay the persons from whom he had purchased the merchandise they had then taken from him?

The Indians believed that these traders were the most powerful persons in the nation; nor did they doubt their ability to withhold merchandise from them; but the great thirst displayed by the traders for the possession of their peltries and furs, added to the belief that they were compelled to continue their traffic, was considered by the Indians a sufficient guarantee for the continuance of their intercourse, and therefore felt themselves at liberty to practise aggressions on the traders with impunity: thus they governed the trader by what they conceived his necessities to possess their furs and peltries, rather than governing themselves by their own anxiety to obtain merchandise, as they may most effectually be by a well regulated system. It is immaterial to the Indians how they obtain merchandise; in possession of a supply they

feel independent. The Indians found by a few experiments of aggression on the traders, that as it respected themselves, it had a salutary effect; and although they had mistaken the legitimate cause of action on the part of the trader, the result being favourable to themselves, they continued their practice. The fact is, that the trader was compelled to continue his trade under every disadvantage, in order to make good his engagements to the governors; for having secured their protection, they were safe, both in person and property from their other creditors, who were, for the most part, the merchants of Montreal.

The first effect of these depredations of the Indians, was the introduction of a ruinous custom among the traders, of extending to them a credit. The traders, who visited the Indians on the Missouri, arrived at their wintering stations from the latter end of September to the middle of October: here they carried on their traffic until the latter end of March or beginning of April. In the course of the season they had possessed themselves of every skin the Indians had procured, of course there was an end of trade; but previous to their return, the Indians insist upon a credit being given on the faith of payment when he returned the next season. The trader understands his situation, and knowing this credit was nothing less than the price of his passport, or the privilege of departing in safety to his home, of course narrowed down the amount of this credit, by concealing, as far as he could, to avoid the suspicions of the Indians, the remnant of his merchandise. But the amount to be offered must always be such as they had been accustomed to receive; and which, in every case, bore a considerable proportion to their whole trade; say the full amount of their summer or redskin hunt. The Indians well knew that the traders were in their power, and the servile motives which induced them to extend their liberality to them, and were therefore the less solicitous to meet their engagements on the day of payment; to this indifference they were further urged by the traders distributing among them, on those occasions, many articles of the last necessity to them. The consequence was, that when the traders returned the ensuing fall, if they obtained only one half of their credits they were well satisfied, as this covered their real expenditure.

Again: if it so happen, in the course of the winter's traffic, that the losses of the trader, growing out of the indolence of the Indians, and their exorbitant exactions under the appellation of credit, should so reduce his stock in trade that he could not pay the governor the price stipulated for his license, and procure a further supply of goods in order to prosecute his trade, the license was immediately granted to some

other individual, who, with an ample assortment of merchandise, visits the place of rendezvous of his predecessor, without the interpolation of a single season. It did not unfrequently happen, that the individuals engaged in this commerce, finding one of their number failing from the rapacity of the Indian nation, with which he had been permitted to trade, were not so anxious to possess themselves of the privilege of trading with that nation; the governor, of course, rather than lose all advantages, would abate of his demands considerably. The new trader thus relieved of a considerable proportion of the tax borne by his predecessor, and being disposed to make a favourable impression on the minds of the Indians, to whom he was about to introduce himself, would, for the first season at least, dispose of his goods to those Indians on more moderate terms than his predecessor had done. The Indians now find that the aggressions they have practised on their former trader, so far from proving detrimental to them, has procured not only their exoneration from the payment of the last credit given them by their former trader, but that the present trader furnished them goods on better terms than they had been accustomed to receive them. Thus encouraged by the effects of this rapacious policy, it was not to be expected that they would alter their plan of operation as it respected their new trader; or that they should appreciate the character of the whites in general in any other manner, than as expressed in a prevailing sentiment on this subject, now common among several nations on the Missouri, to wit: "*that the white man are like dogs, the more you beat them and plunder them, the more goods they will bring you and the cheaper they will sell them.*" This sentiment constitutes, at present, the rule of action among the Kanzas, Sioux, and others; and if it be not broken down by the adoption of some efficient measures, it needs not the aid of any deep calculation to determine the sum of advantages which will result to the American people from the trade of the Missouri. These aggressions on the part of the Indians, were encouraged by the pusillanimity of the engagees, who declared that they were not engaged to fight.

The evils which flowed from this system of exclusive trade, were sensibly felt by the inhabitants of Louisiana. The governor, regardless of the safety of the community, sold to an individual the right of vending among the Indians every species of merchandise; thus bartering, in effect, his only efficient check on the Indians. The trader, allured by the hope of gain, neither shackled with discretion, nor consulting the public good, proceeded to supply the Indians, on whom he was dependent, with arms, ammunition, and all other articles they might require. The Indian, thus independent, acknowledging no authority but his own,

will proceed without compunction of conscience or fear of punishment, to wage war on the defenceless inhabitants of the frontier, whose lives and property, in many instances, were thus sacrificed at the shrine of an *inordinate thirst for wealth* in their governors, which in reality occasioned all those evils. Although the governors could not have been ignorant that the misfortunes of the people were caused by the independence of the Indians, to which they were accessary, still they were the more unwilling to apply the corrective; because the very system which gave them wealth in the outset, in the course of its progress, afforded them many plausible pretexts to put their hands into the treasury of the king their master. For example; the Indians attack the frontier, kill some of the inhabitants, plunder many others, and agreeably to their custom of warfare, retire instantly to their villages with their booty. The governor informed of this transaction, promptly calls on the inhabitants to aid and assist in repelling the invasion. Accordingly a party assemble under their officers, some three or four days after the mischief had been done, and the Indians, one hundred, or one hundred and fifty miles from them, they pursue them, as they usually did, at no rapid pace, three or four days, and returned without overtaking the enemy, as they might have well known before they set out. On their return the men were dismissed, but ordered to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning. When at the end of some two or three months, the governor chose to consider the danger blown over, he causes receipts to be made out for the full pay of two or three months service, to which the signatures of the individuals are affixed; but as those persons were only absent from their homes ten or twelve days, all that was really paid them, did not amount to more than one fourth or one fifth of what they receipted for, and the balance of course was taken by the governor, as the reward for his faithful guardianship of the lives and property of his majesty's subjects.

The Spaniards holding the entrance of the Missouri, could regulate as they thought proper the intercourse with the Indians through that channel; but from what has been said, it will be readily perceived, that their traders, shackled with the pecuniary impositions of their governors, could never become the successful rivals of the British merchants on the west side of the Mississippi, which, from its proximity to the United States, the latter could enter without the necessity of a Spanish passport, or the fear of being detected by them. The consequence was that the trade of the rivers Demoin, St. Peter's, and all the country west of the Mississippi nearly to the Missouri, was exclusively enjoyed by the British merchants. The Spanish governors, stimulated by their own

sordid views, declared that the honour of his majesty was grossly compromitted by the liberty that those adventurers took in trading with the natives within his territory, without their permission, and therefore took the liberty of expending his majesty's money by equipping and manning several galleys to cruise in the channels of the Mississippi in order to intercept those traders of the St. Peter's and Demoin rivers, in their passage to and from the entrance of the Oisconsing river; but after several unsuccessful cruises, and finding the Indians so hostile to them in this quarter, that they dare not land nor remain long in the channel without being attacked, they therefore retired and gave over the project. The Indians were friendly to the British merchants, and unfriendly to the Spanish, for the plain reason that the former sold them goods at a lower rate. The Ayaways, Sacks, Foxes, and Yanktons of the river Demoin, who occasionally visited the Missouri, had it in their power to compare the rates at which the Spanish merchant in that quarter, and the British merchant on the Mississippi sold their goods; this was always much in favour of the latter; it therefore availed the Spaniards but little, when they inculcated the doctrine of their being their only legitimate fathers and friends, and that the British merchants were mere intruders, and had no other object in view but their own aggrandizement. The Indians, deaf to this doctrine, estimated the friendship of both by the rates at which they respectively sold their merchandise; and of course remained the firm friends of the British. In this situation it is not difficult for those to conceive who have felt the force of their machinations, that the British merchants would, in order to extend their own trade, endeavour to break down that of their neighbors on the Missouri. The attachments of the Indians to them, afforded a formidable weapon with which to effect their purposes, nor did they suffer it to remain unemployed.

The merchants of the Dog prairie, rivers Demoin and Ayaway, stimulated the nations just mentioned to the commission of acts of rapacity on the merchants of the Missouri, nor was Mr. Cameron and others, merchants of the river St. Peter's, less active with respect to the Cissitons, Yanktons of the plains, Tetons, &c. who resort the Missouri occasionally still higher up. War parties of those nations were consequently found lying in wait on the Missouri, to intercept the boats of the merchants of that river at the seasons they were expected to pass, and depredations were frequently committed, particularly by the Ayaways, who have been known in several instances to capture boats on the Missouri, in their descent to St. Louis, and compelled the crews to load themselves with heavy burdens of their best furs across the

country to their towns, where they disposed of them to the British merchants. In those cases they always destroyed the periogues, and such of the peltries and furs as they could not carry off. It may be urged, that the British merchants knowing that the United States, at present, through mere courtesy, permit them to extend their trade to the west side of the Mississippi; or rather that they are mere tenants at will, and that the United States possess the means of ejecting them at pleasure; that they will, under these circumstances, be induced to act differently towards us than they did in relation to the Spanish government; but what assurance have we that this will be the effect of the mere change of governments without change of measures in relation to them. Suffer me to ask what solid grounds there are to hope that their gratitude for our tolerance and liberality on this subject, will induce them to hold a different policy towards us. None, in my opinion, unless we stimulate their gratitude by placing before their eyes the instruments of our power in the form of one or two garrisons on the upper part of the Mississippi. Even admit that the people were actuated by the most friendly regard towards the interests of the United States, and at this moment made a common cause with us to induce the Indians to demean themselves in an orderly manner towards our government, and to treat our traders of the Missouri with respect and friendship, yet, without some efficient check on the Indians, I should not think our citizens nor our traders secure; because the Indians, who have for ten years and upwards, derived advantages from practice on lessons of rapacity taught them by those traders, cannot at a moment be brought back to a state of primitive innocence, by the united persuasions of all the British traders. I hold it an axiom, incontrovertible, *that it is more easy to introduce vice into all states of society than it is to eradicate it;* and that this is still more strictly true, when applied to man in savage than in his civilized state. If, therefore, we wish, within some short period, to devest ourselves of the evils which flowed from the inculcation of those doctrines of vice, we must employ some more active agent than the influence of the same teachers who first introduced them. Such an agent, in my opinion, is the power of withholding their merchandise from them at pleasure; and to accomplish this, we must first provide the means of controlling the merchants. If we permit the British merchants to supply the Indians in Louisiana as formerly, the influence of our government over those Indians is lost. For the Indian in possession of his merchandise, feels himself independent of every government, and will proceed to commit the same depredations which they did when rendered independent by the Spanish system.

The traders give themselves but little trouble at any time to inculcate among the Indians a respect for governments; but are usually content with proclaiming their own importance. When the British merchants give themselves trouble to speak of governments, it is but fair to presume that they will teach the natives to respect the power of their own. And at all events, we know from experience that no regard for the blood of our frontier inhabitants will influence them at any time to withhold arms and ammunitions from the Indians, provided they are to profit by furnishing them.

Having now stated, as they have occurred to my mind, the several evils which flowed from that system of intercourse with the Indians, pursued by the Spanish government, I shall next endeavour to point out the defects of our own, and show its incompetency to produce the wished for reform; then, with some remarks on the Indian character, conclude by submitting for the consideration of our government, the outlines of a plan which has been dictated as well by a sentiment of philanthropy towards the aborigines of America, as a just regard to the protection of the lives and property of our citizens; and with the further view also of securing to the people of the United States, exclusively, the advantages which ought of right to accrue to them from the possession of Louisiana.

We now permit the British merchants of Canada, indiscriminately with our own, to enter the Missouri, and trade with the nations in that quarter. Although the government of the U. States has not yielded the point that, as a matter of right, the British merchants have the privilege of trading in this quarter; yet from what has been said to them, they are now acting under a belief, that it will be some time before any prohibitory measures will be taken with respect to them; and are therefore making rapid strides to secure themselves in the affection of the Indians, and to break down, as soon as possible, the American adventurers, by underselling them, and thus monopolize that trade: this they will effect to an absolute certainty in the course of a few years. The old Northwest company of Canada have, within the last two years, formed a union with the Newyork company, who had previously been the only important rivals in the fur trade; this company, with the great accession of capital brought them by the Newyork company, have, with a view to the particular monopoly of the Missouri, formed a connexion with a British house in Newyork, another at New Orleans, and have sent their particular agent, by the name of Jacob Mires, to take his station at St. Louis. It may be readily conceived that the union of the Northwest and Newyork companies, who have

previously extended their trade in opposition to each other, and to the exclusion of all unassociated merchants on the upper portion of the Mississippi, the waters of lake Winnipec, and the Athebaskey country, would, after their late union, have a surplus of capital and a surplus of men, which they could readily employ in some other quarter: such was the Missouri, which, from the lenity of our government, they saw was opened to them; and I do believe, could the fact be ascertained that the hope of future gain from the fur trade of that river, was one of the principal causes of the union between those two great rivals in the fur trade of North America. That this trade will be nurtured and protected by the British government, I have no doubt, for many reasons, which it strikes me could be offered, but which, not falling immediately within the purview of these observations on the fur trade of Louisiana, I shall forbear to mention.

As the Missouri forms only one of four large branches of the commerce of this united, or as it is still called, the Northwest company, they will have it in their power, not only to break down all single adventurers on the Missouri, but in the course of a few years to effect the same thing with a company of merchants of the United States, who might enter into a competition with them in this single branch of their trade. Nor is it probable that our merchants, knowing this fact, will form a company for the purpose of carrying on this trade, while they see the Northwest company permitted by our government to trade on the Missouri, and on the west side of the Mississippi: therefore, the Northwest company, on the present plan, having driven the adventurers of small capitals from these portions of our territory, will most probably never afterwards have a rival in any company of our own merchants. By their continuance they will acquire strength, and having secured the wished for monopoly, they will then trade with the Indians on their own terms; and being possessed of the trade, both on the Mississippi and Missouri, they can make the price of their goods in both quarters similar, and though they may be excessively high, yet being the same they will run no risk of disaffecting the Indians by a comparison of the prices at which they receive their goods at those places. If then it appears, that the longer we extend the privilege to the Northwest company of continuing their trade within our territory, the difficulty of excluding them will increase: can we begin the work of exclusion too soon? For my own part I see not the necessity to admit, that our own merchants are not at this moment competent to supply the Indians of the Missouri with such quantities of goods as will, at least in the acceptation of the Indians themselves, be deemed satisfactory and

sufficient for their necessities. All their ideas relative to their necessities are only comparative, and may be tested by a scale of the quantities they have been in the habit of receiving. Such a scale I transmitted to the government from fort Mandan. From a regard to the happiness of the Indians, it would give me much pleasure to see this scale liberally increased; yet I am clearly of opinion, that this effect should be caused by the regular progression of the trade of our own merchants, under the patronage and protection of our own government. This will afford additional security to the tranquillity of our much extended frontier, while it will give wealth to our merchants. We know that the change of government in Louisiana, from Spain to that of the United States, has withdrawn no part of that capital formerly employed in the trade of the Missouri; the same persons still remain, and continue to prosecute their trade. To these there has been an accession of several enterprising American merchants, and several others since my return have signified their intention to embark in that trade, within the present year; and the whole of those merchants are now unembarrassed by the exactions of Spanish governors. Under those circumstances is it fair for us to presume that the Indians are not now supplied by our own merchants, with quite as large an amount in merchandise as they had been formerly accustomed to receive? Should the quantity thus supplied not fully meet our wishes on liberal views, towards the Indians, is it not sounder policy to wait the certain progress of our own trade, than in order to supply this momentary deficiency, to admit the aid of the Northwest company, at the expense of the total loss of that trade; thereby giving them a carte blanch on which to write in future their own terms of traffic with the Indians, and thus throwing them into their hands, permit them to be formed into a rod of iron, with which, for Great Britain, to scourge our frontier at pleasure.

If the British merchants were prohibited from trading in upper Louisiana, the American merchants, with the aid of the profits arising from the trade of the lower portion of the Missouri, and the western branches of the Mississippi, would be enabled most probably to become the successful rivals of the Northwest company in the more distant parts of the continent; to which we might look, in such case, with a well-founded hope of enjoying great advantages from the fur trade; but if this prohibition does not shortly take place, I will venture to predict that no such attempts will ever be made, and, consequently, that we shall for several generations be taxed with the defence of a country, which to us would be no more than a barren waste.

About the beginning of August last, two of the wintering partners

of the Northwest company, visited the Mandan and Minnetarees villages on the Missouri, and fixed on a scite for a fortified establishment. This project once carried into effect, we have no right to hope for the trade of the upper portion of the Missouri, until our government shall think proper to dislodge them.

This season there has been sent up the Missouri, for the Indian trade, more than treble the quantity of merchandise that has ever been previously embarked in that trade at any one period. Of this quantity, as far as I could judge from the best information I could collect, two-thirds was the property of British merchants, and directly or indirectly that of the Northwest company. Not any of this merchandise was destined for a higher point on the Missouri than the mouth of the Vermillion river, or the neighbourhood of the Yanktons of the river Demoin; of course, there will be a greater excess of goods beyond what the Indians can purchase, unless they sell at one-third their customary price, which the American merchant certainly cannot do without sacrificing his capital.

On my return this fall, I met on the Missouri an American merchant by the name of Robert M'Clellan, formerly a distinguished partisan in the army under general Wayne: in a conversation with this gentleman, I learned that during the last winter, in his trade with the Mahas, he had a competitor by the name of Joseph La Croix (believed to be employed by the Northwest company, but now is an avowed British merchant)—that the prices at which La Croix sold his goods, compelled him to reduce the rates of his own goods so much as to cause him to sink upwards of two thousand dollars of his capital, in the course of his trade, that season; but that as he had embarked in this trade for two years past, and had formed a favourable acquaintance with the Mahas and others, he should still continue it a few seasons more, even at a loss of his time and capital, in the hope that government seeing the error would correct it, and that he might then regain his losses, from the circumstance of his general acquaintance with the Indians.

I also met in my way to St. Louis, another merchant, by the same name, a captain M'Clellan, formerly of the United States' corps of artillerists. This gentlemen informed me that he was connected with one of the principal houses in Baltimore, which I do not now recollect, but can readily ascertain the name and standing of the firm, if it is considered of any importance; he said he had brought with him a small but well assorted adventure, calculated for the Indian trade, by way of experiment; that the majority of his goods were of the fine high-priced kind, calculated for the trade with the Spanish province of New Mexico, which he intended to carry on within the territory of the United States, near

the border of that province; that connected with this object, the house with which he was concerned was ready to embark largely in the fur trade of the Missouri, provided it should appear to him to offer advantages to them. That since he had arrived in Louisiana, which was last autumn, he had endeavoured to inform himself of the state of this trade, and that from his inquiries, he had been so fully impressed with the disadvantages it laboured under from the free admission of the British merchants, he had written to his house in Baltimore, advising that they should not embark in this trade, unless these merchants were prohibited from entering the river.

I have mentioned these two as cases in point, and which have fallen immediately under my own observation: the first shows the disadvantages under which the trade of our own merchants is now actually labouring; and the second, that no other merchants will probably engage in this trade, while the British fur traders are permitted by our government to continue their traffic in Upper Louisiana. With this view of the subject, it is submitted to the government, with whom it alone rests to decide whether the admission or non-admission of those merchants is at this moment most expedient.

The custom of giving credits to the Indians, which grew out of the Spanish system, still exists, and agreeably to our present plan of intercourse with these people, is likely to produce more pernicious consequences than it did formerly. The Indians of the Missouri, who have been in the habit of considering these credits rather as a present, or the price of their permission for the trader to depart in peace, still continue to view it in the same light, and will therefore give up their expectations on that point with some reluctance; nor can the merchants well refuse to acquiesce, while they are compelled to be absent from the nations with which they trade five or six months in the year. The Indians are yet too vicious to permit them in safety to leave goods at their trading houses, during their absence, in the care of one or two persons; the merchant, therefore, would rather suffer the loss by giving the credit, than incur the expense of a competent guard, or doubling the quantity of his engagees, for it requires as many men to take the peltries and furs to market as it does to bring the goods to the trading establishment, and the number usually employed are not found at any time, more than sufficient to give a tolerable security against the Indians.

I presume that it will not be denied, that it is our best policy, and will be our practice to admit, under the restrictions of our laws on this subject, a fair competition among all our merchants in the Indian trade. This being the case then, it will happen, as it has already happened, that

one merchant having trade with any nation, at the usual season gives them a credit and departs: a second knowing that such advance has been made, hurries his outfit and arrives at that nation, perhaps a month earlier in the fall than the merchant who had made this advance to the Indians: he immediately assembles the nation and offers his goods in exchange for their redskin hunt; the good faith of the Indians, with respect to the absent merchant, will not bind them to refuse; an exchange, of course, takes place; and when the merchant to whom they are indebted arrives, they have no peltry, either to barter or to pay him for the goods which they have already received: the consequences are, that the merchant who has sustained the loss becomes frantic; he abuses the Indians, bestows on them the epithets of liars and dogs, and says a thousand things only calculated to sour their minds, and disaffect them to the whites: the rival trader he accuses of having *robbed* him of his credits (for they never give this species of artifice among themselves a milder term) and calls him many opprobrious names; a combat frequently ensues, in which the principals are not only the actors, for their men will, of course, sympathise with their respective employers. The Indians are the spectators of those riotous transactions, which are well calculated to give them a contempt for the character of the whites, and to inspire them with a belief of the importance of their peltries and furs. The British traders have even gone further in the northwest, and even offered bribes to induce the Indians to destroy each other; nor have I any reason to doubt but what the same thing will happen on the Missouri, unless some disinterested person, armed with authority by government, be placed in such a situation as will enable him to prevent such controversies. I look to this custom of extending credits to the Indians, as one of the great causes of all those individual contentions, which will most probably arise in the course of this trade, as well between the Indians and whites, as between the whites themselves; and that our agents and officers will be always harrassed with settling these disputes, which they never can do in such a manner as to restore a perfect good understanding between the parties. I think it would be best in the outset, for the government to let it be understood by the merchants, that if they think proper to extend credits to the Indians, it shall be at their own risk, dependent on the good faith of the Indians for voluntary payment; that the failure of the Indians to comply with their contracts, shall not be considered any justification for their maltreatment of holding abusive language to them, and that no assistance shall be given them in any shape by the public functionaries to aid them in collecting their credits. If the government interfere in behalf of the traders by any regulation,

then it will be the interest of every trader individually to get the Indians indebted to him, and to keep them so in order to secure in future their peltries and furs exclusively to himself. Thus, the Indians would be compelled to exchange without choice of either goods or their prices, and the government would have pledged itself to make the Indians pay for goods, of which they cannot regulate the prices. I presume the government will not undertake to regulate the merchant in this respect by law.

The difficulties which have arisen, and which must arise under existing circumstances, may be readily corrected by establishing a few posts, where there shall be a sufficient guard to protect the property of the merchants in their absence, though it may be left with only a single clerk: to those common marts, all traders and Indians should be compelled to resort for the purposes of traffic.

The plan proposed guards against all difficulties, and provides for a fair exchange, without the necessity of credit: when the Indian appears with his peltry and fur, the competition between the merchants will always insure him his goods on the lowest possible terms, and the exchange taking place at once, there can be no cause of controversy between the Indian and the merchant, and no fear of loss on the part of the latter, unless he is disposed to make a voluntary sacrifice, through a spirit of competition with others, by selling his goods at an under value.

Some of the stipulations contained in the licenses usually granted our Indian traders, are totally incompatible with the local situations, and existing customs and habits of almost all the Indian nations in Upper Louisiana. I allude more particularly to that clause in the license, which compels them to trade at Indian towns only. It will be seen by referrence to my statistical view of the Indian nations of Upper Louisiana, that the great body of those people are roving bands, who have no villages, or stationary residence. The next principal division of them, embracing the Panias, Ottoes, Kanzas, &c. have not their villages on the Missouri, and they even pass the greater portion of the year at a distance from their villages, in the same roving manner. The third, and only portion of those Indians, who can with propriety be considered as possessed of such stationary villages as seems to have been contemplated by this clause of the license, is confined to the Ayaways, Sioux, and Foxes of the Mississippi, and the Ricaras, Mandans, Minnetarees, and Ahwahaways of the Missouri. The consequence is, that until some further provision be made, that all the traders who have intercourse with any nations except those of the last class, will form their establishments at the several points on the Missouri, where it will be most convenient to meet the several nations with whom they wish to

carry on commerce. This is their practice at the present moment, and their houses are scattered on various parts of the Missouri. In this detached situation, it cannot be expected that they will comply with any of the stipulations of their licenses. The superintendant of St. Louis, distant eight hundred or a thousand miles, cannot learn whether they have forfeited the penalty of their licenses or not: they may, therefore, vend ardent spirits, compromit the government, or the character of the whites, in the estimation of the Indians, or practice any other crimes in relation to those people, without the fear of detection or punishment. The government cannot with propriety, say to those traders, that they shall trade at villages, when in reality they do not exist; nor can they for a moment, I presume, think of incurring the expense of sending an Indian agent with each trader, to see that he commit no breach the stipulations of his license. These traders must of course be brought together, at some general points, where it will be convenient for several nations to trade with them, and where they can be placed under the eye of an Indian agent, whose duty it should be to see that they comply with the regulations laid down for their government. There are crimes which may be committed without a breach of our present laws, and which make it necessary that some further restrictions than those contained in the present licenses of our traders, should either be added under penalties in those licenses, or punished by way of a discretionary power, lodged in the superintendent, extending to the exclusion of such individuals from the Indian trade. Of this description I shall here enumerate three:

First, That of holding conversation with the Indians, tending to bring our government into disrepute among them, and to alienate their affections from the same.

Second, That of practising any means to induce the Indians to maltreat or plunder other merchants.

Third, That of stimulating or exciting by bribes or otherwise, any nations or bands of Indians, to wage war against other nations or bands; or against the citizens of the United States, or against citizens or subjects of any power at peace with the same.

These appear to me to be crimes fraught with more real evil to the community, and to the Indians themselves, than vending ardent spirits, or visiting their hunting camps for the purpose of trade; yet there are no powers vested in the superintendents, or agents of the United States, to prevent their repeated commission; nor restrictions or fines imposed by our laws, to punish such offences.

It is well known to me that we have several persons engaged in the trade of the Missouri, who have, within the last three years, been

adopted as citizens of the United States, and who are now hostile to our government. It is not reasonable to expect, that such persons will act with good faith towards us. Hence, the necessity of assigning metes and bounds to their transactions among the Indians. On my way to St. Louis, last fall, I received satisfactory evidence that a Mr. Robideau, an inhabitant of St. Louis, had, the preceding winter, during his intercourse with the Ottoes and Missouris, been guilty of the most flagrant breaches of the first of those misdemeanors above mentioned. On my arrival at St. Louis, I reported the case to Mr. Broom, the acting superintendent, and recommended his prohibiting that person from the trade of the Missouri, unless he would give satisfactory assurances of a disposition to hold a different language to the Indians. Mr. Broom informed me, that the laws and regulations of the United States on this subject, gave him no such powers; and Mr. Robideau and sons still prosecute their trade.

The uncontrolled liberty which our citizens take of hunting on Indian lands, has always been a source of serious difficulty, on every part of our frontier, and is evidently destined to become quite as much so in Upper Louisiana, unless it be restrained and limited within consistent bounds. When the Indians have been taught, by commerce, duly to appreciate the furs and peltries of their country, they feel excessive chagrin at seeing the whites, by their superior skill in hunting, fast diminishing those productions, to which they have been accustomed to look as the only means of acquiring merchandise; and nine-tenths of the causes of war are attributable to this practice. The Indians, although well disposed to maintain a peace on any other terms, I am convinced will never yield this point; nor do I consider it as of any importance to us that they should; for with what consistency of precept and practice can we say to the Indians, whom we wish to civilize, that agriculture and the arts are more productive of ease, wealth, and comfort, than the occupation of hunting, while they see distributed over their forests a number of white men, engaged in the very occupation which our doctrine would teach them to abandon. Under such circumstances, it cannot be considered irrational in the Indians, to conclude, that our recommendations to agriculture are interested, and flow from a wish on our part to derive the whole emolument arising from the peltries and furs of their country, by taking them to ourselves.

These observations, however, are intended to apply only to such Indian nations as have had, and still maintain a commercial intercourse with the whites: such we may say are those inhabiting the western branches of the Mississippi, the eastern branches of the Missouri, and

near the main body of the latter, as far up as the Mandans and Minnetarees. Here it is, therefore, that it appears to me expedient we should draw a line; and temporarily change our policy. I presume it is not less the wish of our government, that the Indians on the extreme branches of the Missouri to the west, and within the Rocky mountains, should obtain supplies of merchandise equally with those more immediately in their vicinity. To effect this, the government must either become the merchant themselves, or present no obstacles to their citizens, which may prevent their becoming so with those distant nations; but as the former cannot be adopted (though I really think it would be best for a time) then it becomes the more necessary to encourage the latter. Policy further dictates such encouragement being given, in order to contravene the machinations preparing by the Northwest company for practice in that quarter.

If the hunters are not permitted in those distant regions, the merchants will not be at the expense of transporting their merchandise thither, when they know that the natives do not possess the art of taking the furs of their country. The use of the trap, by which those furs are taken, is an art which must be learned before it can be practised to advantage. If the American merchant does not adventure, the field is at once abandoned to the Northwest company, who will permit the hunter to go, and the merchant will most probably be with him in the outset; the abundance of rich furs in that country, hold out sufficient inducement for them to lose no time in pressing forward their adventures. Thus those distant Indians will soon be supplied with merchandise; and while they are taught the art of taking the furs of their country, they will learn the value, and until they have learnt its value, we shall run no risk of displeasing them by taking it. When the period shall arrive that the distant nations shall have learned the art of taking their furs, and know how to appreciate its value, then the hunter becomes no longer absolutely necessary to the merchant, and may be withdrawn; but in the outset, he seems to form a very necessary link in that chain which is to unite these nations and ourselves in a state of commercial intercourse.

The liberty to our merchants of hunting, for the purpose of procuring food, in ascending and descending the navigable water-courses, as well as while stationary at their commercial posts, is a privilege which should not be denied them; but as the unlimited extent of such a privilege would produce much evil, it should certainly be looked on as a subject of primary importance: it should, therefore, enter into all those compacts which we may think proper to form with the Indians in that

country, and be so shaped as to leave them no solid grounds of discontent.

The time to which licenses shall extend.

A view of the Indian character, so far as it is necessary it should be known, for the purposes of governing them, or maintaining a friendly commercial intercourse with them, may be comprised within the limits of a few general remarks.

The *love of gain* is the Indians' ruling passion, and the fear of punishment must form the corrective; to this passion we are to ascribe their inordinate thirst for the possession of merchandise, their unwillingness to accede to any terms, or enter into any stipulations, except such as appear to promise them commercial advantages, and the want of good faith, which they always evince by not complying with any regulations, which in practice do not produce to them those expected or promised advantages. The native justice of the Indian mind, will always give way to his impatience for the possession of the goods of the defenceless merchant, and he will plunder him, unless prevented by the fear of punishment; nor can punishment assume a more terrific shape to them, than that of *withholding every description of merchandise from them.* This species of punishment, while it is one of the most efficient in governing the Indians, is certainly the most humane, as it enforces a compliance with our will, without the necessity of bloodshed. But in order to compass the exercise of this weapon, our government must first provide the means of controlling their traders. No government will be respected by the Indians, until they are made to feel the effects of its power, or see it practised on others: and the surest guarantee of savage fidelity to any government, is a thorough conviction in their minds, that they do possess the power of punishing promptly, every act of aggresion, which they may commit on the persons or property of their citizens. If both traders and Indians throughout Upper Louisiana, were compelled to resort to regulated commercial posts, then the trader would be less liable to be pillaged, and the Indians deterred from practising aggresion; for when the Indians once become convinced, that in consequence of their having practised violence upon the persons or property of the traders, that they have been cut off from all intercourse with those posts, and that they cannot resort to any other places to obtain merchandise, then they will make any sacrifice to regain the privilege they had previously enjoyed; and I am confident, that in order to regain our favour in such cases, they would sacrifice any individual who may be the object of our displeasure, even should he be their favorite chief; for their thirst of merchandise is paramount to every other con-

sideration; and the leading individuals among them, well knowing this trait in the character of their own people, will not venture to encourage or excite aggresions on the whites, when they know they are themselves to become the victims of its consequences.

But if, on the other hand, these commercial establishments are not general, and we suffer detached and insulated merchants, either British or American, to exercise their own discretion, in setting down where they may think proper, on the western branches of the Mississippi, for the purposes of trading with the Indians; then, although these commercial establishments may be so extended as to embrace the Missouri, quite to the Mandans, still they will lose a great part of their effects; because the roving bands of Tetons, and the most dissolute of the Siouxs being denied the permission to trade on the Missouri at any rate, would resort to those establishments on the Mississippi, and thus become independent of the trade of the Missouri, as they have hitherto been. To correct this, we have three alternatives: First, to establish two commercial posts in this quarter. Secondly, to prohibit all intercourse with the Sisitons, and other bands of Siouxs, on the river St. Peter's and the Raven's-wing river, informing those Indians that such prohibition has been the consequence of the malconduct of the Tetons, and thus leave it to them to correct them; or, Thirdly, to make an appeal to arms in order to correct the Tetons ourselves.

Impressed with a belief unalloyed with doubts, that the ardent wish of our government has ever been to conciliate the esteem, and secure the friendship of all the savage nations within their territory, by the exercise of every consistent and pacific measure in their power, applying those of coertion only in the last resort, I here proceed with a due deference to their better judgment, to develop a scheme which has suggested itself to my mind, as the most expedient that I can devise for the successful consummation of their philanthropic views towards those wretched people of America, as well as to secure to the citizens of the United States, all those advantages, which ought of right exclusively to accrue to them, from the possession of Upper Louisiana.

The situation of the Indian trade on the Missouri and its waters, while under the Spanish government.

The exclusive permission to trade with nations.

The giving by those exclusions, the right to individuals to furnish supplies, which rendered the Indians independent of the government.

The times of sending goods to the Indians, and of returning to St. Louis — the necessity of giving credits; therefore the disadvantages of.

The evils which grew out of the method pursued by the Spaniards, as well to themselves as to the Indians.

The independence of individuals of their own government.

The dependence of the Indians on those individuals, and their consequent contempt for the government, and for all other citizens whom they plundered and murdered at pleasure.

The present rapacity of the Indians, owing to this cause, aided also by the system of giving credits to the Indians, which caused contentions among the traders, which terminated by giving the Indians a contempt for the character of the whites.

The permission to persons to hunt on Indian lands, productive of many evils, the most frequent causes of war, hostile to the views of civilizing, and of governing the Indians.

The first principle of governing the Indians is to govern the whites — the impossibility of doing this without establishments, and some guards at those posts.

The Sisitons may be made a check on the Tetons by withholding their trade on the Mississippi.

Having stated the several evils which flowed from the Spanish system, I now state the Indian character, the evils which still exist, and what they will probably terminate in, if not redressed — the plan recommended to be pursued and the benefits which may be expected to result therefrom, conclude thus, it may be pretty confidently believed that it is not competent to produce the wished for reform among the Indians.

Hunters permitted in the Indian country pernicious — frequent cause of war between us.

Some of the stipulations of the licenses granted the traders, in application to the state of the Indians on the Missouri, of course not attended to. The incompetency of the Indian agents to see that any of the stipulations are complied with. Whiskey, or ardent spirits may, therefore, be introduced, and other corruptions practised without our knowledge. There is not at present allowed by law to the superintendant of Indian affairs, any discretionary powers, by which he can prohibit our newly acquired citizens of Louisiana, who may be disaffected to our government, from trading with the Indians: the law says, that any citizen of the United States, who can give sufficient security for the sum of five hundred dollars, for the faithful compliance with the stipulation of his license, shall be permitted to trade. An instance has happened in Mr. Robideau, &c.

[Article incomplete. Lewis lost his life October 11, 1809 — see vol. 1, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii, *ante*. — ED.]

LXXVI

STODDARD NOTIFIED OF LEWIS'S DEATH

[From original MS. in possession of Missouri Historical Society.]

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE. 18th Oct. 1809.

DEAR SIR: I am sorry to inform you of the death of Governor Meriwether Lewis, which took place on the Morning of the 11th instance at the House of a Mr. Grender about seventy five miles from here on the Natchez Road. it is reported that he arrived there the evening before — the man of the house was from home — the governor went to bed in a room alone. about three o'clock the woman of the house who slept in a house near the other heard two pistols fire — she awoke the servants, and they rushed into the Room, and found the unfortunate Governor weltering in his blood; he had shot himself in the head and just below his breast — he died in about three hours; in a few hours Major Neeley Agent to the Chickasaws came up, who had remained behind to hunt two horses which they had lost the night before — he had him intered and took into his care & possession two trunks said to contain his valuable papers, amongst which is said to be his Journal to the pacific ocean, & perhaps some vouchers which he was taking on for settlement — Majr Neeley has his pistols, Rifle, Watch, &c — his servant John Parney will proceed on early in the morning with letters to Mr. Jefferson from Majr Neeley communicating to him the particulars of the unhappy affair. I lament extremely the unfortunate fate of this worthy Character.

[The remainder of the letter concerns Brahan's personal affairs. — ED.]

[Superscription:] John Brahan to Major Amos Stoddard, U. S. Artillerists, Washington City.

LXXVII

GEN. JONATHAN CLARK[1] *TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK*

[From original MS. in library of Wisconsin Historical Society — Draper MSS., 55J71.]

DEAR BROTHER: I received a letter from brother William, some time about the first of January he was then at Washington but said that on the next day he should sit off for Philadelphia in search of some of the papers, that he hoped had been left there, by Governor Lewis — a part of the journals &c of the trip to the Western ocean, had been sent him, but not the whole, I have heard that the Governor made a will and devised the papers to William but he does not say any thing of it in his L^re^ to me. William mentions that he was fearfull that nothing would be obtained on your memorial — for the old claim but was flattered with a hope that he should get a pension for you he says that no nomination of a Governor in the place of Gov. Lewis had been made. your sister is here with a bad head ache with our best wishes for your self Maj^r^ Croghan and family. Yr. aff Brother

JONA: CLARK.

Feb^y^ 3^d^ 1810

[Endorsed:] — General George R. Clark Philadelphia Edm. Clark

[1] General Jonathan Clark was the eldest brother of William and George Rogers Clark. Born in 1750, he served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and was captured at Charleston in 1780. After the war he settled in Spottsylvania County, Va.; and in 1793 was made one of the three major-generals of the state militia. He removed to Kentucky about 1800, and lived near Louisville. — ED.

LXXVIII

AN EDITORIAL COMMENT

[From the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* (April, 1810), viii, p. 283.]

THE publick are likely to be for a long time without the expected account of the journey of Capt. Lewis to the Pacifick ocean, which has excited more curiosity in Europe than it has in this country. It has been said, that the indifference of the publick, and the very small number of subscribers it has obtained, operated strongly on his mind, and was one of the causes that led to his unfortunate death. His papers are said to have been left in a very confused imperfect state; but such as they were, they have been sent to his patron, Mr. Jefferson, who it is presumed will employ his leisure hours in preparing them for the press.

LXXIX

JEFFERSON TO BARON VON HUMBOLDT[1]

[Extract — Ford, ix, p. 433.]

[Dec. 6, 1813.]

You will find it inconceivable that Lewis's journey to the Pacific should not yet have appeared; nor is it in my power to tell you the reason. The measures taken by his surviving companion, Clarke, for the publication, have not answered our wishes in point of despatch. I think, however, from what I have heard, that the mere journal will be out within a few weeks in two volumes 8vo. These I will take care to send you with the tobacco seed you desired, if it be possible for them to escape the thousand ships of our enemies spread over the ocean. The botanical and zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and become known to the world through other channels before that volume will be ready. The Atlas, I believe, waits on the leisure of the engraver.

[1] Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, the celebrated German geographer and scientist, whose extensive travels in South America and Mexico were so widely useful. — ED.

LXXX

JEFFERSON TO MADAME LA COMTESSE DE TESSE[1]

[Extract — Ford, ix, p. 439.]

[Dec. 8, 1813.]

LEWIS'S journey across our continent to the Pacific has added a number of new plants to our former stock. Some of them are curious, some ornamental, some useful, and some may by culture be made acceptable to our tables. I have growing, which I destine for you, a very handsome little shrub of the size of a currant bush. Its beauty consists in a great produce of berries of the size of currants, and literally as white as snow, which remain on the bush through the winter, after its leaves have fallen, and make it an object as singular as it is beautiful. We call it the snow-berry bush, no botanical name being yet given to it, but I do not know why we might not call it Chionicoccos, or Kallicoccos. All Lewis's plants are growing in the garden of Mr. McMahon, a gardener of Philadelphia, to whom I consigned them, and from whom I shall have great pleasure, when peace is restored, in ordering for you any of these or of our other indigenous plants.

[1] Madame de Tesse, aunt of Madame Lafayette, was prominent in French liberal councils, and was much admired by Jefferson, who frequently corresponded with her. — ED.

LXXXI

JEFFERSON TO ABBÉ CORREA DA SERRA[1]

[Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society. We follow a transcript furnished by Secretary I. Minis Hays.]

POPLAR FOREST, April 26, 16.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of Mar. 29. was recieved just as I was setting out for this place. I brought it with me to be answered hence. Since you are so kind as to interest yourself for Cap[t] Lewis's papers, I will give you a full statement of them.

1. ten or twelve such pocket volumes, Morocco bound, as that you describe, in which, in his own hand writing, he had journalised all occurrences, day by day, as he travelled. they were small 8[vos] and opened at the end for more convenient writing. every one had been put into a separate tin case, cemented to prevent injury from wet. but on his return the cases, I presume, had been taken from them, as he delivered me the books uncased. there were in them the figures of some animals drawn with the pen while on his journey. the gentlemen who published his travels must have had these Ms. volumes, and perhaps now have them, or can give some account of them.

2. Descriptions of animals and plants. I do not recollect whether there was such a book or collection of papers, distinct from his journal; altho' I am inclined to think there was one: because his travels as published, do not contain all the new animals of which he had either descriptions or specimens. mr Peale, I think, must know something of this, as he drew figures of some of the animals for engraving, and some were actually engraved. perhaps Conrad, his bookseller, who was to have published the work, can give an account of these.

3. Vocabularies. I had myself made a collection of about 40 vocabularies of the Indians on this side the Missisipi, and Cap[t] Lewis was

[1] Joseph Francisco Correa da Serra was a Portuguese botanist; born in 1750, he came to the United States in 1813 to prosecute researches in natural history. He succeeded Dr. Barton as professor of botany at the College of Philadelphia, and was a member of the American Philosophical Society. Returning to his own country, he died there in 1823. — ED.

instructed to take those of every tribe beyond, which he possibly could: the intention was to publish the whole, and leave the world to search for affinities between these and the languages of Europe and Asia. he was furnished with a number of printed vocabularies of the same words and form I had used, with blank spaces for the Indian words. he was very attentive to this instruction, never missing an opportunity of taking a vocabulary. after his return, he asked me if I should have any objection to the printing his separately, as mine were not yet arranged as I intended. I assured him I had not the least; and I am certain he contemplated their publication. but whether he had put the papers out of his own hand or not, I do not know. I imagine he had not: and it is probable that Doct.r Barton, who was particularly curious on this subject, and published on it occasionally, would willingly recieve and take care of these papers after Cap.t Lewis's death, and that they are now among his papers.

4. his observations of longitude and latitude. he was instructed to send these to the war-office, that measures might be taken to have the calculations made. whether he delivered them to the war-office, or to D.r Patterson, I do not know; but I think he communicated with D.r Patterson concerning them. these are all-important: because altho', having with him the Nautical almanacs, he could & did calculate some of his latitudes, yet the longitudes were taken merely from estimates by the log-line, time and course. So that it is only as to latitudes that his map may be considered as tolerably correct; not as to its longitudes.

5. his Map. this was drawn on sheets of paper, not put together, but so marked that they could be joined together with the utmost accuracy; not as one great square map, but ramifying with the courses of the rivers. the scale was very large, and the sheets numerous, but in perfect preservation. this was to await publication, until corrected by the calculations of longitude and latitude. I examined these sheets myself minutely, as spread on a floor, and the originals must be in existence, as the Map published with his travels must have been taken from them.

These constitute the whole. they are the property of the government, the fruits of the expedition undertaken at such expence of money and risk of valuable lives. they contain exactly the whole of the information which it was our object to obtain for the benefit of our own country and of the world. but we were willing to give to Lewis and Clarke whatever pecuniary benefits might be derived from the publication, and therefore left the papers in their hands, taking for

granted that their interests would produce a speedy publication, which would be better if done under their direction. but the death of Cap[t] Lewis, the distance and occupations of General Clarke, and the bankruptcy of their bookseller, have retarded the publication, and rendered necessary that the government should attend to the reclamation & security of the papers. their recovery is now become an imperious duty. their safest deposit as fast as they can be collected, will be the Philosophical Society, who no doubt will be so kind as to receive and preserve them, subject to the orders of government; and their publication, once effected in any way, the originals will probably be left in the same deposit. as soon as I can learn their present situation, I will lay the matter before the government to take such order as they think proper. As to any claims of individuals to these papers, it is to be observed that, as being the property of the public, we are certain neither Lewis nor Clarke would undertake to convey away the right to them, and that they could not convey them, had they been capable of intending it. yet no interest of that kind is meant to be disturbed, if the individual can give satisfactory assurance that he will promptly & properly publish them. otherwise they must be restored to the government; & the claimant left to settle with those on whom he has any claim. my interference will, I trust, be excused, not only from the portion which every citizen has in whatever is public, but from the peculiar part I have had in the design and execution of this expedition.

To you, my friend, apology is due for involving you in the trouble of this inquiry. it must be found in the interest you take in whatever belongs to science, and in your own kind offers to me of aid in this research. be assured always of my affectionate friendship and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

LXXXII

CLARK TO JEFFERSON

[Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society. We follow a transcript furnished by Secretary Hays.]

SAINT-LOUIS October 10th 1816

DEAR SIR: I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 8th of Sept^r, by the Mail, and with much pleasure comply with the contents.

It has ever been my wish, that the Travelling journal of Gov^r Lewis & myself, the aſtronomical Observations, the Geographical Charts, the Indian Vocabularies and all Subjects of Natural history should be given to the public in the best poſsible manner, and agreeably to the Original intention —. and for that purpose I have been twice to phil^a and have uſed all the means which have been in my power without the succeſs contemplated.

The Naritive has been published, but I have not been so fortunate as to precure a single volume, as yet. after the death of my friend Gov^r Lewis, finding the arrangements he had made relative to the publication had failed, and the greater part of the aſtronomical observations with the plates and drawings which he had directed to be made, were not to [be] found. a new contract was made with Meſs^rs Bradford & Inskep, to print & publish that part, and the cientific part also, which was to have been (by contract) prepared in Six months from the time by Doct^r Barton. in their arrangements I have been also disappointed.

Since the failure of Bradford & Inskep, and the death of Doct^r Barton my agent M^r Nicholas Biddle has been requested to collect all the Books, papers, specimens &c.

previously to my making the last arrangement, I had conversation with the then Secretary of War on the subject of publishing Lewis & Clarks Journal Map &c., he thought it important, but could promis no aſsistance at that time.

It is with pleasure that I inclose you an Order on my friend M^r Biddle for the papers in his poſseſsion, relating to the Astronomical Observations, the Geographical Charts, the Indian Vocabularies, and

other papers not comprehended in the journal of Lewis & Clarks Travels laterly published, and the Specimins which were left in the poſseſsion of Doct.r Barton — also the Traveling pocket Journals.

From the mortification of not haveing succeeded in giving to the world all the results of that expedition, I feel Relief & greatitude for the interest which you are willing to take, in effecting what has not been in my power to accomplish.

Some time ago, I requested M.r Biddle to deliver to M.rs Markes's Order, the half of all the Books he may have received in my behalf. The Map from which the plate was made, is in my poſseſsion at this place; it is rough and has not been corrected and comprehends the Connection of Country from Lat. 34.° to 50.° N.

If you think it adviseable? I will make a new Map of the same size of the one I have, corrected by such materials as I have precured since the last was made; otherwise I shall take the liberty of sending the one I have to you.

The Miſsouri River on which there is such emence tracts of fine country calculated for rich & populous settlements, and watering an emence space in which there is much welth in furs, Peltres, minerals, dies &.c is tolerably well understood but not in sufficient use. The Lands on the lower portion of that river is settling fast, the middle portion (or as high up as the Big Bend or White river) is Crowded with Traders, but the upper and richer portion has had no American Citizen since the falur of the Miſsouri C.o 1811 and I am under great apprehentions that the British will take poſseſsion of that rich Tract by the way of Aſsinniboin & Saskaſsion rivers. as they have done at the mouth of Columbia, and on Lewis & Clark's Rivers — : If a large and over bearing company cannot be formed of American Citizens with sufficient Capital to keep them out: I think such a Co. could be formed with some Countrimen and a little aid from the government.

The present population of this Territory would most probably amount to about 35 or 40.000 Soles since peace was made with the Indians on the Miſsiſsippi the emogration has been emence bending their course to the Miſsouri principally. Landed property has risen which has inrichened the old inhabitants and reconsiled them to our government much more than formerly.

In the exurcise of Gov.t of this Territory I have succeeded in the worst of times with more approbation than I had expected. laterly a small and disappointed party has Sprung up deturmined to vex & Teaze the execution.

I am happy to have it in my power to say to you that I succeed in

keeping the Indians of this Territory (exceept those high up the Miſsiſsippi, in peace, The Torments of this frontier was produced by the Traders East of the Miſsippi & high up that River. The dificueltes & responsibilities however were great, and in some instances I was compeled to vary from principal, and Set the Miſsouri Tribes at war against those of the Miſsiſsippi to prevent the British influence amongst the Miſsouri tribes as also to prevent a coeleetion which would have destroyed our settlements at a blow.

please to accept the aſsurence of my highest respect and veneration and best wishes for your health and hapineſs

Yours most sincerely

Wm. Clark

[Superscription :] Mr Jefferson Monticello
[Endorsed :] Clarke William Oct. 10. 16. recd. Nov. 21.

LXXXIII

JEFFERSON TO JOHN VAUGHAN[1]

[Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society. We follow a transcript furnished by Secretary Hays.]

MONTICELLO June 28. 17.

DEAR SIR: Your two letters of the 2d. and 18th. have been recieved in due time. mine of the 7th. had partly anticipated your requests of the 2d.

I thank you for the advance to Mr. Birard, and now inclose 70. D. to cover it in bills of the Virginia bank which I understand pass with you. the duplicates you advise for Cathalan & Debures, I had sent thro' the Secretary of State's office. I shall be glad to subscribe for the volume of transactions now in the press, and ask the favor of you to have my name placed on the subscription paper. but I have nothing to offer for insertion in it. in earlier life when I should from inclination have devoted myself to pursuits analogous to those of our society, my time was all engrossed by public duties, and now without either books or memory I could offer nothing which would do credit either to the society or myself. you enquire for the Indian vocabularies of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke. all their papers are at present under a kind of embargo. they consist of 1. Lewis', Ms. pocket journals of the journey. 2. his Indian Vocabularies. 3. his astronomical observations, particularly for the longitudes. 4. his map, and drawings. a part of these papers were deposited with Dr. Barton; some with Mr Biddle, others I know not where. of the pocket journals Mr. Correa got 4. out of 11. or 12. from Mrs. Barton & sent them to me. he informed me that Mr. Biddle would not think himself authorised to deliver the portion of the papers he recieved from Genl. Clarke without his order; whereon I wrote to Genl. Clarke, & recieved his order for the whole some time ago. but I have held it up until a Secretary at War was is appointed, that office having some rights to these papers. as soon as

[1] John Vaughan was a physician and noted scientist; born in 1775, he resided chiefly in Wilmington, Del. — ED.

that appointment is made, I shall endeavor to collect the whole, to deposite the Ms. journals & Vocabularies with the Philosophical Society, adding a collection of some vocabularies made by myself, and to get the Sec^{y} at War to employ some person to whom I may deliver the astronomical papers for calculation, and the geographical ones for the correct execution of a map; for in that published with his journal, altho' the latitudes may be correct, the longitudes cannot be. I wait therefore only for this appointment to begin my endeavors for a compleat collection and destribution of these papers. the historical committee were so kind as to send me Col^{o} Byrd's MS. journal of the survey of the boundary between N. Carolina & Virginia. I am in negociation with the family to obtain his private journal of the same expedition containing much matter not in the public one, equally curious, and equally worthy of being printed. as soon as I obtain a difinitive answer I shall return them theirs, and the other also if I can obtain leave. Accept my friendly and respectful salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

LXXXIV

JEFFERSON TO PETER S. DUPONCEAU[1]

[Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society. We follow a transcript furnished by Secretary Hays.]

MONTICELLO Nov. 7. 17

DEAR SIR: a part of the information of which the expedition of Lewis and Clarke was the object has been communicated to the world by the publication of their journal; but much & valuable matter remains yet uncommunicated. the correction of the longitudes of their map is essential to it's value; to which purpose their observations of the lunar distances are to be calculated & applied. the new subjects they discovred in the vegetable, animal & mineral departments are to be digested and made known. the numerous vocabularies they obtained of the Indian languages are to be collated and published. altho' the whole expense of the expedition was furnished by the public, and the information to be derived from it was theirs also, yet on the return of Mess^rs Lewis & Clarke the government thought it just to leave to them any pecuniary benefit which might result from a publication of the papers, and supposed indeed that this would secure the best form of publication. but the property in these papers still remained in the government for the benefit of their constituents. with the measures taken by Gov^r Lewis for their publication, I was never acquainted. after his death Gov^r Clarke put them, in the first instance, into the hands of the late D^r Barton, from whom some of them passed to m^r Biddle, and some again, I believe, from him to m^r Allen. while the Ms. books of journals were in the hands of D^r Barton, I wrote to him on behalf of Gov^r Lewis's family requesting earnestly, that, as soon

[1] Peter Stephen Duponceau was a French jurist and linguist, who came to the United States to assist in the Revolutionary War, and was a member of Stephen's staff. Becoming a citizen of the United States in 1781, he settled in Philadelphia, and studied law. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, at one time being its corresponding secretary. Under the auspices of this Society he published a work on the structure of Indian languages. — ED.

as these should be published, the originals might be returned, as the family wished to have them preserved. he promised in his answer that it should be faithfully done. after his death, I obtained, thro' the kind agency of mr Correa, from mr Barton, three of those books, of which I knew there had been 10. or 12. having myself read them. these were all she could find. the rest therefore, I presume are in the hands of the other gentlemen. after the agency I had had, in effecting this expedition, I thought myself authorised, and indeed that it would be expected of me that I should follow up the subject, and endeavor to obtain it's fruits for the public. I wrote to Genl Clarke therefore for authority to recieve the original papers. he gave it in the letters to mr Biddle and to myself, which I now inclose, as the custody of these papers belonged properly to the War-office, and that was vacant at the time, I have waited several months for it's being filled. but the office still remaining vacant, and my distance rendering any effectual measures by myself, impracticable, I ask the agency of your committee, within whose province I propose to place the matter, by making it the depository of the papers generally. I therefore now forward to them the 3. volumes of MS. journals in my possession, and authorise them, under Genl Clarke's letters, to enquire for and to recieve the rest. so also the astronomical and geographical papers, those relating to zoological, botanical, and mineral subjects, with the Indian vocabularies, and statistical tables relative to the Indians. of the astronomical and geographical papers, if the Commẽe will be so good as to give me a statement, I will, as soon as a Secretary at war is appointed, propose to him to have made, at the public expence, the requisite calculations, to have the map corrected in its longitudes and latitudes, engraved and published on a proper scale: and I will ask from Genl Clarke the one he offers, with his corrections. with respect to the zoological, vegetable & mineralogical papers & subjects, it would perhaps be agreeable to the Philosophical society to have a digest of them made, and published in their transactions or otherwise. and if it should be within the views of the historical committee to have the Indian vocabularies digested and published, I would add to them the remains of my collection. I had thro' the course of my life availed myself of every opportunity of procuring vocabularies of the languages of every tribe which either myself or my friends could have access to. they amounted to about 40 more or less perfect. but in their passage from Washington to this place, the trunk in which they were was stolen and plundered, and some fragments only of the vocabularies were recovered. Still however they were such as would be worth incorporation with a larger work, and shall be at the service of the

historical committee, if they can make any use of them. permit me to request the return of Gen! Clarke's letter and to add assurances of my high respect & esteem

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. with the volumes of MS. journal, mrs Barton delivered one by mistake I suppose, which seems to have been the journal of some botanist. I presume it was the property of Dr. Barton, & therefore forward it to you to be returned to mrs Barton.

LXXXV

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY ACCEPTS THE TRUST

[Extract furnished by Secretary Hays, from the minutes of the Historical and Literary Committee of the Society.]

Nov. 19. 1817.

PRESENT Dr. Wistar, N. Biddle, Rawle, Norris, Du Ponceau, Vaughan, Tilghman

Mr. Jefferson under date of 7 Nov. relative to papers of Lewis and Clark.

Also a letter from Gen'l Clark 10 Oct. 1816 to Mr. Jefferson desiring his agent Mr. Nicholas Biddle to give up all the papers to the Historical Committee under direction of Mr. Jefferson.

Mr. Jefferson in his letter desires Mr. Biddle to deliver them and says that he will endeavor to procure from the Government all they may possess.

Also a letter from Gov. Clark to Mr. Biddle desiring him to deliver the Papers to Mr. Jefferson's order.

Also a letter 26 April 1816 from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Correa corroborating the above and stating that he thought the astronomical papers were mentioned by Clark to Dr. Patterson.

Mr. Biddle stated that the vocabularies were on separate printed sheets — as stated by Mr. Jefferson and with blanks to fill up the vocabularies — accompanied by some in handwriting of Mr. Jefferson. These were handed by him to Dr. Barton.

The manuscript journals of Mr. Clark are still in Mr. Biddle's hands and also a Journal of a sergeant which Mr. Clark bought.

J. Vaughan reported that the astronomical papers had been in the hands of Mr. Hassler[1] who had given up the calculations in despair.

[1] Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler, a Swiss mathematician and surveyor born in 1770, emigrated to the United States early in the 19th century. Gallatin secured him a position as professor of mathematics at West Point. Later he was connected with the Coast Survey and chief of bureau of weights and measures. — ED.

Mr. Du Ponceau delivered four manuscript volumes, one of which appeared to belong to Barton's family being botanical.

To apply to Mrs. Barton, & Gov. Clark. & Dr. Patterson & Mr. Hassler for information

April 8th 1818

Present. P. S. Du Ponceau, Cor. Sec'y., N. Biddle, J. P. Norris, B. R. Morgan, Jno. Vaughan, Sec'y.

J. P. Norris in the Chair.

Mr. Nicholas Biddle deposited the original journals of Lewis and Clark, with an account of them and of those journals and documents which he was not possessed of, and reported to the Chairman Mr. Tilghman. The documents were delivered by direction of Gen'l. Clark received through Mr. Jefferson

His account embraced the following Particulars — That he had received in 1810 from Gen'l C. all the documents necessary for the publication of their Travels. They consisted of the following, viz.

1. a Large Map embracᵍ the Country between the Pacific & Miſsiſsipi. From this Lewis drew the Map published & [it] was returned to Gov' Clark about 1813
2. a map to ſend to Mʳ Haſsler to whom the astronomical obsˢ & calcˢ were Confided this may be in his hands.
3. ſome Documents for Dr Barton, these were relative to Botany Natural Histʸ These were in Mss Books extracted from original Journals chiefly. Also ſeveral Indian Vocabˢ in loose ſheets printed. each containing a vocabʸ in Engl. with the Corresp' Indian names in Mss. &. also a colecttion of Indian Vocˢ in Mr. Jeffersons hand writing — which the preface to the Travels States "ſoon to be published"
4. The Mss. Journal of ſergeant Ordway one of the party — purchased of him by Clarke who in Janʸ 1818 desires Mʳ B. to ſend it — he has not yet done it
5. The Pocket Journals of the Expedition from commencmᵗ to the End in 14 Vol now Deposited There is also one particularly dedicated to astronˡ Obˢ 1 vol. & a ſmall Copy Book containing ſome notes by Cap Lewis & others. Also rough dft. of his letter to the Pᵗ announcing his return — & finally Two Statistical Tables of the various Nations of the miſsiſsipi — made by Govʳ Clarke

Ordered that the recording Secretary give a receipt to N- Biddle in the following Terms — for the books & papers received —

Rec^{d}. April 8. 1818 of Nicholas Biddle 14 Volumes of the Pocket Journal of Meſs Lewis & Clarke = a Volume of astronomical observations & other Matter by Capt Lewis = a ſmall Copy Book containing ſome Notes by Capt. Lewis — A Rough draft of his letter to the President from St Louis announcing his return — Two Statistical Tables of the Indian Tribes West of the Miſsiſsipi rever made by Governor Clarke = All which are Deposited with the Hist Com^{ee} in compliance with the request of Gov^{r} Clark in his Letter to Nicholas Biddle dated 10 Oct 1816 & forwarded to the Hist. Com^{ee} by Mr Jefferson.

It is understood & agreed on the part of the Histo: Com^{ee} in recieving these books & papers, that Gov^{r} W^{m} Clark his heirs or aſsigns shall at all times have the full use of them for any future edition of his Travels. By order of the Hist = Com^{ee}

Jn Vaughan recording Sec. of the Hist. & Lit. Class of the Am. Ph. Soc.

Copy of the acct to be ſent to Mr Jefferson by the Cor. Sec^{y}

LXXXVI

NICHOLAS BIDDLE TO WILLIAM TILGHMAN[1]

[Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society. We follow a transcript furnished by Secretary Hays.]

PHILAD^A April 6. 1818

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure of depositing with the Historical Committee the papers & books which accompany this letter, in compliance with the request of Governor Clark in his letter to me of the 10^th^ of October 1816 transmitted by M^r^ Jefferson.

It may perhaps be useful to add such notices of other objects connected with them, as may enable the Committee to extend its researches.

It was in the Spring of 1810 that I received from Governor Clark in Virginia, & brought to Philadelphia the papers & documents deemed neceſsary for the publication of the Travels. They consisted of,

1. A large map of the country between the Miſsiſsipi & the Pacific illustrating the course of the journey
2. A map for M^r^ Haſsler who was in the State of New York and engaged in some astronomical calculations for the work.
3. Some documents for D^r^ Barton
4. The manuscript journal of Serjeant Ordway, one of the party
5. The pocket Journals of the expedition

Of these,

1. The map after the draft was made from it for the engraver was delivered by the draftsman, M^r^ Lewis, to Governor Clark when last in Phil^a^ about the year 1813
2. The other map was forwarded by M^r^ Vaughan to M^r^ Haſsler, who in his letter dated Aug^t^ 12. 1810 at Schenectady mentions the receipt of it

[1] William Tilghman, born in Maryland, 1756, was a distinguished jurist; judge of U. S. Circuit court, 1801–02; chief justice of Supreme court of Pennsylvania after 1806. In 1824 he was elected president of the American Philosophical Society, of which he had long been an active member. — ED.

VOCABULARY

Fire
water
earth
air
wind
ſky
ſun
moon
ſtar
light
darkneſs
day
night
heat
cold
ſmoak
cloud
fog
rain
ſnow
hail
ice
froſt
dew
rain-bow
thunder
lightning
yeſterday
to-day
to-morrow
a day
a month
a year
ſpring
ſummer
autumn
winter

a man
a woman
belly
back
ſide
bubby
nipple
thigh
leg
foot
toe
ſkin
nails
bone
blood
life
death
food
meat
fat
lean
bread
Indian-corn
milk
egg
a houſe
the mammoth
buffalo
elk
deer
mooſe
bear
wolf
panther
wild-cat
pole-cat
fox

monax
beaver
raccoon
opoſſum
to-day
to-morrow
a day
a month
a year
ſpring
ſummer
autumn
winter
a man
a woman
a boy
a girl
a child
father
mother
brother
ſiſter
huſband
wife
ſon
daughter
the body
the head
the hair
the beard
the face
an eye
the noſe
the cheek
chin
lip
mouth

tooth
tongue
ear
neck
arm
wriſt
hand
finger
mooſe
bear
wolf
panther
wild-cat
pole-cat
fox
monax
beaver
raccoon
opoſſum
hare
ſquirrel
flying-ſquirrel
ground-ſquirrel
mole
a bird
an eagle
hawk
owl
turkey
ſwan
wild-gooſe
duck
turkey-buzzard
raven
crow
black-bird
crane

pigeon
dove
pheaſant
partridge
mocking-bird
red-bird
ſnake
lizzard
butterfly
fly
fiſh
frog
mulberry
a vine
tobacco
joy
ſorrow
one
two
three
four
five
ſix
ſeven
eight
nine
ten
eleven
twelve
thirteen
fourteen
fifteen
ſixteen
ſeventeen
eighteen
nineteen
twenty
twenty-one
thirty
forty
fifty
ſixty
ſeventy
eighty
ninety
a hundred
two hundred
three hundred
four hundred
five hundred
ſix hundred
ſeven hundred
eight hundred
ugly
ſick
brave
cowardly
wiſe
fooliſh
I
you
he
ſhe
they
this
that
to eat
to drink
to ſleep
to laugh
to cry
to ſing
to whiſtle
to ſmell
to hear
to ſee
to ſpeak
to walk
to run
to ſtand
to ſit
to lie down
to ſmoke a pipe
to love
to hate
to ſtrike
to kill
to dance
to jump
to fall
to break
to bend
yes
no
gold
ſilver
copper
a ſtone
wood
gum
a mountain
hill
valley
ſea
lake
pond
river
creek
a ſpring
graſs
a tree
pine
cedar
ſycamore
poplar
aſh
elm
beech
birch
maple
oak
cheſnut
hiccory
walnut
locuſt
mulberry
a vine
tobacco
joy
ſorrow
one
two
three
four
nine hundred
a thouſand
white
black
green
blue
yellow
red
good
bad
large
ſmall
high
low
broad
narrow
old
young
new
hard
ſoft
ſweet
ſour
bitter
hot
cold
dry
wet
ſtrong
weak
pretty
ugly
ſick
brave
cowardly
wiſe
fooliſh
I
you
he

3. The documents for Dr Barton, were delivered to him immediately after my arrival in Phila. Not having received any list of them from Govr Clark I of course took none from Dr Barton, and as I was merely the bearer of them, my recollection is not as accurate as it would have been had they fallen more immediately under my examination. My impreſsion however is that the packet for Dr Barton consisted of small manuscript books & some papers. The books were chiefly extracts relative to objects of natural history taken from the original Journal now deposited with the Committee. The papers were Indian vocabularies, collected during the journey. They formed, I think a bundle of loose sheets each sheet containing a printed vocabulary in English with the corresponding Indian name in manuscript. There was also another collection of Indian vocabularies, which, if I am not mistaken, was in the handwriting of Mr Jefferson.[1]

I have turned to my letter to Governor Clark dated July 7. 1810, the first to him after my arrival at Phila, in hopes of finding some further particulars, but the letter merely states in general terms "I need not say that I arrived safe at this place / that the map was immediately forwarded to Mr Haſsler, and that Dr Barton received all his papers" In the preface to the printed travels which, being published in Phila whilst Dr Barton was there, must be presumed to have been correct it is stated that "those parts of the work which relate to the various objects of natural history observed or collected during the journey, as well as the alphabets of the Indian languages are in the hands of Profeſsor Barton, and will it is understood, shortly appear." This was in 1814.

I have mentioned these particulars ſo minutely because the description may perhaps enable some of the Committee to recognize the vocabularies, which I incline to think were the only things delivered by me to Dr Barton not included in the volumes now deposited

4. The journal of Serjeant Ordway was I believe a private purchase from that person. Governor Clark in his letter to me of the 24 Jany. 1818 desires me to send it to him.

[1] Several copies of the Indian vocabulary blank, apparently prepared by Jefferson, are in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, having been presented by him in October, 1820. It consists of a sheet 7 ¾ × 19 ¼″, printed on both sides — although there are some which were printed on but one side of a sheet twice this width, the two pages standing side by side. Those filled out, represent, among others, the Miami, Micmac, Shawnee, Chippewa, and Lenâpe languages; while several are still blank. In the collection are none which emanated from the Lewis and Clark expedition. We present herewith a facsimile of one of the unfilled blanks. — Ed.

5. The Journals of Meſs^rs Lewis & Clark from the beginning to the end of the journey are contained in the 14 volumes, all of which are now deposited. There is besides one volume of astronomical observations & other matter by Captain Lewis, a small copy book containing some notes by Captain Lewis / the rough draft of his letter to the President from S^t Louis announcing his return / and two statistical tables of the various tribes of Indians west of the Miſsiſsipi made by Governor Clark.

These are all the observations which occur to me as promising to be useful to the Committee,

Very respectfully yrs

NICHOLAS BIDDLE

Hon^ble William Tilghman Chairman of the Historical Committee of the Philos^l Society.

[Endorsed:] received & read to the Historical Comm^ee April 8. 1818 See Minutes.

LXXXVII

ELLIOTT COUES'S[1] *DESCRIPTION OF THE ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF LEWIS AND CLARK, NOW IN POSSESSION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN PHILADELPHIA*

[Condensation of paper read before the American Philosophical Society, January 20, 1893, and published in *Proceedings* of the Society, vol. xxxi, No. 140, pp. 17–33.]

It is well known that the *History of Lewis and Clark's Expedition* was written by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia, and first published there in 1814, in two octavo volumes, by Bradford and Inskeep. It is also common report that the manuscripts of the famous explorers, upon which Mr. Biddle worked, are extant. But what these are, and where they are kept, few could have told.

All the journals and notebooks, in the handwritings respectively of Lewis and of Clark, upon which Mr. Biddle based his work, were deposited by him with the Philosophical Society in April, 1818.

* * * * * * * *

Diligent and minute examination of these manuscripts satisfies me that their character should be made known, as a matter of great historic interest. Accordingly the present description is offered.

I will first describe the bound books and loose papers, just as I found them, in general terms; next, in terms of their several deposits — for there are more of them than Mr. Biddle deposited; and then I will give an account of them in detail, as I have arranged them in a series of codices, which I call alphabetically Codex A, etc., to T.

[1] In December, 1892, the Society loaned these MSS. to Dr. Coues while he was preparing his annotated edition of the Biddle version; hence this report upon them. The lines of asterisks represent details by Dr. Coues, not essential to the present publication, therefore omitted by us.

In connection with this list, the reader should also consult our vol. i, pp. l–liv, *ante*, for an account of the Clark-Voorhis collection. — Ed.

I. The Books and Papers as Found.

Of four sorts: (1), (2), (3), three different styles of bound field notebooks and journals; (4), several lots of loose papers, mainly belonging with one of the styles of the bound volumes.

1. Thirteen (13) bound volumes, all alike, forming the most conspicuous part of the collection, and known since Biddle's time as "the red books." These are journals and notebooks of Lewis and of Clark, respectively, all in the handwriting of one or the other of the explorers. Eleven (11) of these are a part of the Biddle deposit; one (1) was deposited by Mr. Jefferson; one (1) is an unrecorded deposit. All are in remarkably good order, clean and sound inside and out; form oblong; back along short diameter, and as the pages were written on both sides, up and down, across the same diameter, the books open to and from the reader, not right and left; covers smooth bright *red* morocco, gilt-tooled edges, marbled inside, fastened at the fore end with brass clasps (now gone from eight of the volumes, intact on five of them)[1]; size of covers $8\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches (very nearly same size and shape as the leaves of the printed Philadelphia edition of 1814); paper about one quarter inch smaller each way than cover, or $7\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$, rather thin, rough and tough, white (now with a slight brownish tinge), unruled; gathering supposed to be 76 folios or 152 pages in each book, exclusive of a pair of flyleaves marbled one side like inside of cover; but the number of leaves varies a little, and in several cases some leaves have been intentionally torn out — nowhere breaking the text, but to write something else on, or for another purpose. These books, as a whole, are written almost entirely full. Lewis's hand is particularly fine, fair and even; Clark's is larger, stronger and less regular; both are so good, and the pages are so perfectly preserved, that there is perhaps not a word, possibly not a letter, in the whole of these manuscripts not now distinctly legible. Seven (7) of these thirteen books are by Lewis alone; six (6) are by Clark alone. Eleven (11) are "journals" — *i. e.*, narratives of the progress of the Expedition day by day, entered under consecutive dates. Two (2) are "Notebooks" — *i. e.*, miscellaneous entries, of various dates or none, of astronomical, geographical, ethnological, zoölogical, botanical, etc., items. In my arrangement these thirteen books become Codices D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P (see further on). With them belong more or less intimately certain parcels of loose sheets (see on).

2. One (1) bound volume, the "brown" book, standing alone. This is almost exactly the size, shape, etc., of the foregoing, but quite

[1] Not at present on any of them. — Ed.

unlike them in appearance. It is bound in rough brown leather, sides and edges alike, not marbled inside; it is thicker than any of the other volumes, the paper being heavier and coarser; the leaves are 137, pages 274. This is mainly a journal, and mainly in Clark's hand, but with some entries by Lewis, and some by another hand. It includes the whole of the wintering of the expedition at Fort Mandan, and various other matters. For contents see beyond, Codex C, which this volume now forms.

3. Four (4) bound volumes, which may be called the "marble" books, from the style of their covers. Form oblong, like that of all the foregoing; size of covers $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$ inches, leaves $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$; paper rough, whitish, unruled; covers pasteboard, overlaid with marbled paper, back and corners of thin, smooth, brown leather. All in good order but one, which is worn and shabby; all written full, and perfectly legible throughout. The gathering of these four books is supposed to be 92 leaves or 184 pages; in one I find but 164 pages, though without any break in the text that I can discover. Two of these books are Clark's journals, from the starting of the Expedition to October 3, 1804; the other two are notebooks, chiefly natural history notes, by both Lewis and Clark. The four now form my Codices A, B and Q, R (see beyond).

4. Several parcels of loose sheets of manuscript, some in Lewis' hand, some in Clark's. Most of these papers are of the same size, shape and quality as the leaves of the red books, having been, in fact, taken from some of the latter, as may be seen by fitting the torn ends to the stubs remaining in the volumes. Those parcels which thus obviously belong to certain of the red books, or with the red books as a set, I have arranged as Codices Fa, Fb, Fc, Fd, Fe, La, Lb. One of the parcels is a different fragment, imperfect, once part of a notebook, not found, like the small marble books; this is now Codex Ia. Two of the parcels belong with the small marble books, and thus become Codices Aa, Ba. Two remaining parcels, not directly connected with any of the bound volumes, are now Codices S, T. These manuscripts were all loose; as arranged they make twelve (12) parcels and as many codices, for the particular description of which see beyond.

The above are all the books and papers in my hands which are actual manuscripts of Lewis or of Clark. They are accompanied by Mr. Biddle's letter of deposit, and several memoranda concerning them, in Biddle's or another hand.

II. The Books and Papers as Deposited.

I do not find quite all of the Biddle deposit, as itemized in the receipt given him by the Society; for example, no vocabularies and no maps.

The "Meteorological Register" he specifies is simply certain leaves detached from the red books, and thus already accounted for. All the loose manuscript above specified is supposed to be included in the Biddle deposit. But I find four books from other sources remaining to be accounted for.[1] As to their deposits, therefore, the Lewis and Clark manuscripts fall into the following arrangement:

1. The Biddle deposit, fourteen bound volumes, viz.: Two of the four small marble books; the one brown book; and eleven of the thirteen red books. With these belong all the loose papers, as above said.

2. The Jefferson deposit, consisting of three bound volumes. Two of these are small marble books, matching the other two deposited by Biddle. Each is by both Lewis and Clark, and each consists of miscellaneous field notes, mainly on zoölogy and botany. They now form Codices Q, R. The third volume is one of the red books. It is a Clark, and contains miscellaneous notes, chiefly on natural history. It is now Codex P. These three were deposited by Mr. Jefferson in November,[2] 1817, as appears by memorandum in each of them, in Biddle's hand.

3. Unknown deposit: One of the thirteen red books without record of source whence obtained. This is a Lewis, and consists of certain astronomical observations and geographical notes. It is now Codex O.[3]

III. The Books and Papers as Arranged.

I have gone very carefully through these precious manuscripts, and arranged them in what appears to be their natural sequence or logical order. All the red books, making the bulk of the collection, fall easily together, preceded by two of the small marble books and by the brown book, followed by the other two small marble books, and the set of bound volumes is interspersed with the twelve parcels of unbound manuscripts which I have made up from the loose sheets, securely fastened

[1] Coues is mistaken in his description of the Biddle deposit. It consisted of the fourteen volumes of the journals (Coues's codices A to N); a book of astronomical observations (Codex O); a small copy-book containing some notes by Lewis (a book he had previously used while paymaster in the army in 1800, and in which he entered his weather diary from January, 1804, to April, 1805); two statistical tables of Indian tribes (for description, see Ethnological Data); and a rough draught of his letter to the president announcing his return (Codex S). Biddle expressly says that the vocabularies and maps had passed from his hands; and the "Meteorological Register" is not detached leaves, but the small copy-book containing the weather diary. — Ed.

[2] These were received by Jefferson from Mrs. Barton. See letter of November 7, 1817. — Ed.

[3] This was a part of the Biddle deposit. See previous note. — Ed.

in stiff paper covers, and for the most part interleaved with onion-skin writing paper. I have also paginated the whole of the manuscripts, which can now be cited by codex and page throughout, as if by volume and page of a published work. There are in all upward of 2,000 pages. Description in detail of the now thirty (30) codices here follows:

CODEX A.— One of the four small marbled cover books. Biddle deposit No. 1. Clark's original No. 1. In good order. Folios 92, pages 184. Being Clark's journal, complete, from May 13, 1804, to Aug. 14, 1804. This takes the expedition from the 1803–4 winter camp on Du Bois or Wood River up the Missouri to the creek on which the Omahas resided (to p. 44, vol. i, of the printed text).

* * * * * * * *

CODEX Aa.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number; collate with Clark Codex A. In good order. Folios 4, loose, torn from a book like one of the red books; 5½ pages written. Being Lewis's journal, of dates May 20 and 15, 1804, covering starting of the expedition, which Lewis joined at St. Charles on the 20th.

* * * * * * * *

CODEX B.— One of the small marbled cover books. Biddle deposit No. 2. Clark's original No. 2. In good order. Folios 90, pages 180, counting front flyleaf; one leaf and the flyleaf gone at end, but no break in the MS., which continues on from p. 180 to inside of cover. Being Clark's journal, complete, from Aug. 15, 1804, to Oct. 3, 1804. This takes the expedition from the creek on which the Omahas resided to next day beyond Caution Island (pp. 44–97 of vol. i, of the printed text).

* * * * * * * *

CODEX Ba.— Fragment, torn from a book like one of the red books. Biddle deposit. No number; collate with Clark Codex B. In fair order; some corners gone; loose folios 4, pages 7½ written. Being Lewis's journal, Sept. 16 and 17, 1804, when the expedition was at Corvus Creek.

* * * * * * * *

CODEX C.— The brown leather cover book above described, and which may be also known as "The Mandan Codex." Biddle deposit No. 3. Clark's No. 3. Biddle's No. 3. In perfect order. Folios 137, pages 274, and inside of both covers written over. Being Clark's journal, complete, traversing dates Oct. 1–3, 1804, from Codex B, then of dates Oct. 4, 1804, to April 7, 1805, when the expedition left Fort Mandan; Lewis enters Feb. 3–13, 1805, when Clark was away on a hunt; another hand invoices, etc. This journal covers route from Cheyenne River to the Mandans, and residence there.

* * * * * * * *

CODEX D.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 4. In perfect order. Cover clean and scarcely warped. Folios

70, pages 140, besides two flyleaves marbled one side like inside of covers; there should be folios 76, pages 152, but several leaves are torn out at end (these are preserved, being now part of Codex Fe, which see). This is Lewis's journal, complete, April 7, 1805, to May 23, 1805, from the Mandans to a little above Musselshell River, and *corresponding* with dates to Biddle's pp. 177–226 of vol. i; but the printed text follows mainly a Clark journal I have not found.[1]

CODEX E. — One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 5. In perfect order inside, brass clasp gone, covers clean, one of them creased crosswise. Folios 78, pages 156, and both marbled flyleaves written over one side. Being Lewis's journal, complete, pp. 1–156, and both flies, May 24, 1805, to July 16, 1805, carrying the expedition from North Mountain Creek to the Gates of the Rocky Mountains, followed in the Biddle text, mainly, pp. 226–303 of vol. i.

* * * * * * * *

CODEX F.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 6. In perfect order inside and out, except brass clasp gone. Folios 76, pages 152, and one side of both marbled flyleaves written over = pages 154; p. 153, on back fly, continued as p. 154 on front fly. Being Lewis's journal, complete and intact, July 17, 1805, to Aug. 22, 1805 (except Aug. 1–4), carrying the expedition from the Gates to the Three Forks of the Missouri, thence up Jefferson River and over the Rocky Mountains to the Shoshone village; corresponding to pp. 303–398 of vol. i, of the Biddle text.

CODEX Fa.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 4, pages 8, loose sheets, written over 6½ pages, same paper as one of the red books. Being Lewis's journal, Aug. 1–4, 1805, but merely another narrative of those days, already fully written up at pp. 52–66 of Codex F, with which collate.

CODEX Fb.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 13, pages 26, written 25¼, loose sheets, same paper as the red books. Lewis's journal, Aug. 23–26, 1805, therefore in direct continuation of Codex F. Text mainly the account of the Shoshone Indians as given in Biddle's chap. xvi, vol. i. The *dates* are included in Clark's journal, Codex G.

* * * * * * * *

CODEX Fc.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 2, pages 4, full. Loose sheets, paper of the red books. Lewis's journal,

[1] One of Clark's journals is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Jefferson K. Clark, of St. Louis. I am not informed of the dates covered by this volume, nor of the nature of its contents. — COUES.

As will be seen upon reference to vol. i, of our series, pp. l–liii, the present Editor was led by the above note to institute a search for the Ordway journal. This quest led to the discovery of the remarkable collection of Clark MSS. in the possession of his heirs in New York city, whither the family papers had been removed from St. Louis; but the Ordway journal is still missing. — ED.

Sept. 9 and 10, 1805, at and near Traveler's Rest Creek. This codex comes after Codex Fb, but not connectedly. The dates are covered by Clark, Codex G.

Codex Fd.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 4, pages 8, full. Loose sheets, paper of the red books. Lewis's journal, Sept. 18–22, 1805, Hungry Creek, Chopunnish Indians, etc. Follows Codex Fc, but not connectedly. Dates covered by Clark, Codex G.

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Codex Fe.— Two fragments. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios $5 + 3 = 8$, pages $10 + 6 = 16$. Paper like that of the red book, from two of which these fragments have been torn. Lewis's weather diary for April, May and June, 1805, and for July, Aug. and Sept., 1805.

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Note. — This codex is the basis of Biddle's meteorological tables, April 1 to Sept. 30, 1805, in Vol. ii, pp. 484–488, and of the "Remarks and Reflections" pertaining to these dates, 503–508. By dates Codex Fe is to be collated with Codices D, E, F, G.

Codex G.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Clark's No. 5. Biddle's No. 7. In perfect order inside and out; brass clasp intact. Folios 76, pp. 152, besides the marbled flyleaves, one of which is written on. Clark's journal, complete, July 1, 1805, to Oct. 10, 1805, covering the whole of the route from White Bear islands, at the head of the Great Falls of the Missouri, to mouth of the Kooskooskee or Clearwater River.

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Codex H.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit No. 8. No Clark number. In perfect order, inside and out; brass clasp intact. Folios 76, pages 152, besides back and front marbled flyleaves. Clark's journal, complete, Oct. 11, 1805, to Nov. 19, 1805, going down "Lewis'" River and the Columbia to the mouth of the latter.

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Note. — Codex H is main basis of Biddle, vol. ii, pp. 1–81.

Codex I.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit No. 9. No Clark number. In perfect order, inside and out; only brass clasp gone. Folios 78, pages 156, besides the two marbled flyleaves. Clark's journal, complete, Nov. 19, 1805 (directly continued from same date in Codex H) to Jan. 29, 1806, at and about the mouth of the Columbia and residence in Fort Clatsop, with various other matter, for which see contents following.

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Note. — Codex I is the main basis of Biddle's printed text, vol. ii, pp. 80–146, though of course with collation of Lewis's parallel narrative. The list of traders is on Biddle's p. 145. Biddle also uses the weather diary in one part, for the months not taken from Lewis. The sketch map forms the third of the copper

plates of Biddle's Vol. ii. But the most important special matter in this Codex is the "Estimate of the Western Indians," an original basis of Biddle's pp. 471–476. The printed pages, however, do not follow this Clark Codex I, but are from some revised manuscript furnished by Clark.

CODEX Ia.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In perfect order. Folios 5, pages written 8; small paper like that of one of the small marble cover books. Lewis's journal, Nov. 29–Dec. 1, 1805, when he explored by himself a place on the S. W. side of the Columbia.

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CODEX J.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. No. 10. In perfect order inside and out, only clasp gone. Folios 76, pages 152, besides marbled flyleaves. Lewis's journal, complete, Jan. 1, 1806, to March 20, 1806, thus covering the residence of the party in Fort Clatsop. The manuscript is very close, clear and clean, and illustrated with numerous pen and ink sketches of Indian implements and utensils, birds, fishes, etc. There is a well-drawn head of the California condor, the white-fronted goose, and some full-length fishes, size of the page. We will specify this as "The Clatsop Codex."

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CODEX K. — One of the thirteen red morocco books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 10. In perfect order inside and out, only brass clasp gone. Folios 76, pages 152, and two marbled flyleaves. Lewis's journal, complete, March 21, 1806, to May 23, 1806, in direct continuation of Codex J, covering voyage up the Columbia, and journey over the Bitter-root Mountains.

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Note.— The Journal of this codex, so far as it is utilized, makes Biddle's pp. 205–299, of vol. ii.

CODEX L.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 12. In good order inside and out, brass clasp intact. Total folios 75, pages 150, inclusive of three folios I have fastened in where they belong, exclusive of the two marbled flyleaves, both written on one side. Lewis's journal, not complete, May 24, 1806, to Aug. 8, 1806, excepting July 5–14, which is Codex La, completing the Journal between dates said. This Codex L, together with La, covers the making of "Lewis and Clark's Pass," Lewis's exploration of Maria's River, and his Indian fight. It is continued by Lb, which see.

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Note. — This codex, with its important belongings La and Lb, is the sole basis of Biddle's vol. ii, pp. 332–365, relating to Lewis's party, at the said dates separated from Clark's.

CODEX La. — Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In poor order; one sheet in bad order. Sheets 4½, folios 9, pages 18, of a folded notepaper, not matching paper from any of the bound books, and one sheet not matching the rest. Lewis's journal, July 3–15, 1806, the making of "Lewis and Clark's Pass." We will call it "The Pass Codex."

Note. — This is by far the most important of all the fragments, and unhappily in the worst order of all the manuscripts. Sheet 1, folios 2, pages 4, is larger than the rest, thin and now very brittle. Having been handled and packed with smaller sheets, the edges are ragged, especially at bottom. The last line on each of the four pages was probably going in Biddle's time, for he has interlined some words that were then in danger of becoming illegible. Others that were only made out with difficulty when I got the manuscript I have interlined to like purpose ; and certainly every word is saved. The top was in the same state, but has no lines so near the edge, and I have trimmed it smooth. This sheet is badly stained, also, perhaps from getting wet when Lewis forded a river with it in his pocket. The Pass is made July 7, at the bottom of p. 7 of this fragment. The MS. ends illegibly near the bottom of p. 18. Two other hands make a memorandum across the blank space, to the effect that this fragment belongs to Biddle's No. 12, my Codex L, where 10 folios were left blank by Lewis for its insertion, and where it should be carefully copied into the clean book.

Codex Lb. — Fragment. Biddle deposit. No number. In good order. Folios 4, pages 7 written + 1 blank, paper like that of the red books. Lewis's journal, Aug. 9–12, 1806, and last ; includes his being shot by Cruzatte.

Note.— Sole basis of Biddle's pp. 363–365, vol. ii.

Codex M.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 13. In perfect order inside and out. Folios 76, but pages 154, including one side of each marbled flyleaf. Clark's journal, complete, June 7, 1806, to Aug. 14, 1806. Parallel narrative with Lewis's to July 3, when the party separated, then Clark's sole narrative of the journey from Traveler's Rest Creek to the Jefferson River, making "Clark's Pass," thence down the Jefferson, up the Gallatin, over to the Yellowstone, and down this to its mouth, below which the separated parties reunited ; also weather diary, June to Aug., 1806. This may be known as "The Yellowstone Codex."

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Note.— A sketch map therein, is that mentioned in Biddle, as drawn by Chopunnish Indians and copied on paper by Clark. It was never engraved. With Lewis's parallel narrative to July 3, this codex is the basis of Biddle, vol. ii, pp. 309–332 : then it is sole basis of pp. 366–404.

Codex N. — One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. Biddle deposit. Biddle's No. 14, and last. In perfect order inside and out, only brass clasp gone. Folios 76, but pages 154, one side of both flyleaves being written over. Clark's journal, complete, Aug. 15 to Sept. 26, 1806, and his last, bringing the reunited party down the Missouri to St. Louis ; also various other matter.

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Note.— An important codex. As Lewis kept no journal after Aug. 12, 1806, when he had been shot, the remainder of Biddle vol. ii is based on this codex, as far as p. 433, end of the history.

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Codex O.— One of the thirteen red morocco books. No Biddle number. Not deposited by Biddle; perhaps by Jefferson; by whom unknown; not one of the regular series of journals.[1] In perfect order inside and out. Folios 64 only, pages 128 only, exclusive of the two flyleaves, probably up to the usual 72 folios, cut out of end. Text as far as it goes perfect and signed "Meriwether Lewis," showing end there. Whole MS. is in Lewis's hand. The gone leaves were probably taken to be used for other writing, and their absence in no way affects what is in the book.

Contains description of the Missouri and other rivers, etc., from the mouth of the Missouri to the Mandans, according to the observations of the expedition, and beyond the Mandans upon Indian and other information, pp. 69–128. This is a connected general account, the original draft of which was doubtless written at Fort Mandan, winter of 1804–5, as text to accompany the map which was sent thence to President Jefferson, April 7, 1805. Hence I infer that the substance of this codex was among the papers dispatched to the President at that date; but I have no record of how or when it came into the possession of the Philosophical Society. It does not seem to have been known to Biddle, or at any rate was not used by him in writing the history of the expedition.

Codex P.— One of the thirteen red morocco cover books. No Biddle number. Not one of the regular journals. Jefferson deposit, Nov., 1817. In perfect order inside and out; only brass clasp gone. Folios only 68, pages 136, exclusive of two flyleaves written on; 4 folios = 8 pages gone, but no break in the manuscript. Clark's natural history notes, etc., April 9, 1805, to Feb. 17, 1806.

Note.—This codex is important as containing numerous and various zoölogical and botanical notes which are the main though not the sole basis of Biddle's natural history chapter vii, in vol. ii. Some of this chapter is almost literally from this codex, but zoölogical and botanical matter from various other codices is there compiled. I may here give the simple explanation of the extreme meagreness and paucity of the natural history notes in Lewis and Clark, with the sole exception of what is in chap. vii, vol. ii. It was intended that Dr. B. S. Barton should work up the natural history in both branches, as stated by Biddle in the Preface. The codices (journals) are everywhere rich in such materials — often giving elaborate descriptions of animals and plants which the printed text barely mentions. These manuscripts will doubtless suffice for the scientific identification of the objects described, in nearly all cases. But these passages are almost always cancelled in red ink by Biddle or by Clark, with the remark, "Dr. Barton," "Copy for Dr. Barton," "Copied for Dr. Barton," etc., showing that the editor designedly passed them by for the purpose thus indicated. But Dr. Barton never did anything with this wealth of new material; his death occurred soon after the volumes were published, and nothing that I know of bearing on the zoölogy and botany of Lewis and Clark was ever found among his papers. Thus the whole

[1] See previous note on the deposit of Codex O. — Ed.

intention miscarried; what little zoölogy was ever made out of the expedition was done by Wilson, Ord and Rafinesque, mainly, and what little botany, I think, by Pursh. In 1876 I worked out the mammals and birds as well as I could from the printed text of chap. vii, vol. ii.

Codex Q.— One of the four small marbled cover books. No Biddle number. Jefferson deposit. In good order. Folios 92, pages 184. Lewis and Clark's miscellaneous notes, chiefly on natural history, 1804–1806. A mate to Codex R (see contents).

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Note.— This and R are the only codices of the whole series of which Lewis and Clark are joint authors — though Lewis has a few entries in Clark Codex C. I observe no marks by Biddle in the MS., and probably he did not use this codex at all. It has some valuable descriptions, found nowhere else, but on the whole is of much less importance to the naturalist than Codex P.

Codex R. — One of the four small marbled cover books. No Biddle number. Jefferson deposit. Cover most worn of any of the books, and very shabby; inside sound and clean, except a torn flyleaf. Folios 82, pages 164. Lewis and Clark's miscellaneous notes, chiefly on botany and zoölogy, May, 1804, to March, 1806. A mate to Codex Q.

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Codex S.— Fragment. Biddle deposit. Loose sheets 4 = folios 8 = pages 16, of notepaper, unlike the paper of any of the bound codices. In good order. Lewis, Two letters of.

(1) letter to President Jefferson, dated St. Louis, Sept. 23, 1806, announcing the return of the expedition. This is the rough original, full of interlineations and erasures, from which a fair copy was doubtless made and mailed to the President, Lewis retaining the present MS. It is of great historic interest as a curiosity, but of no special value otherwise. It is complete, with official signature and address; it makes 5½ folios, or 11 pages, the second letter being on the same *sheets* as the first one, occupying the remaining 2½ folios, or 5 pages. (2) A letter, fragmentary, without signature or address, presumably intended for the President, in Lewis's hand, misdated St. Louis, Sept. 21 (probably meant for 24), 1806, and proceeding to give a general account of the expedition, till it breaks off in the middle of a sentence at bottom of p. 16. It announces the discovery of the Yellow Rock or "Roghejone" river — that is, of the Yellowstone or Roche jaune.

Codex T. — Fragment. No record or identification. One folio, 2 pages, apparently Clark's hand, but "Capt. Clark" spoken of in the third person. It is a half sheet of notepaper, not from any one of the bound books, and a mere excerpt, without proper beginning or end, speaking of some geographical and other matters of no special consequence.

Note to Codices A–T. — The four small marble cover codices, and the brown codex, were actually penned in the field, day by day, as the Expedition proceeded. So were some of the fragmentary codices, notably the "Pass Codex." But this cannot have been the case with the red books, nor with those of the fragmentary codices which are on paper of the same size, shape and quality as that of the red books. The covers are too fresh and bright, the paper too clean and sound, for these books to have ever been through the wear and tear of such a journey. The handwritings are too good, and too uniform, for either of the explorers to have executed them in the vicissitudes of the camp. The red books were certainly written after the return of the expedition, and before Lewis's death in October, 1809 — that is, in 1806–9. They were certainly put in Mr. Biddle's hands very early in 1810, and were probably written at St. Louis. I suppose the explorers bought a stock of these blank books, and proceeded to copy into them their journals and notes, from rough field-books like the marble ones and the brown one. They appear to have agreed upon a fair division of the work of authorship — each to write certain portions of the narrative, each in the first person singular speaking of the other in the third person, and each drawing what he wished from the rough field-books of both. They evidently intended to become the joint authors of their own Travels, though each should write certain portions himself. This design was frustrated by Lewis's untimely and tragic death; upon which Clark at once secured Mr. Biddle's invaluable services as editor and virtual author. But in making this explanation concerning the red books, I must not be misread as saying that they are not "original" manuscripts of Lewis and of Clark; simply that they are not books which were written in the field. Every word of them all is in the handwriting of one or the other of the explorers; they are original, they are genuine, and they are authentic.[1]

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If the actual texts of Lewis and Clark are ever published, they should be printed word for word, letter for letter, and point for point. This would make a wonderful book, and I am inclined to think it should be done.

* * * * * * * *

The only serious criticism of Mr. Biddle's most admirable performance, which examination of the original manuscripts induces me to venture, concerns the exclusion of all tabular matter from the body of his text. The manuscripts of both the explorers, and of Clark especially, are replete with astronomical observations for latitude and longitude, tabulated courses by points of the compass, bearings of prominent

[1] But see on this point Jefferson's letter to Correa de Serra, April 26, 1816, *ante*, in which he declares that the morocco-bound books were actually carried in the field. — Ed.

landmarks by the same, formally estimated distances, etc. These are of great intrinsic interest in meandering the Missouri and other rivers, and invaluable in tracking the routes of the explorers across the mountains. It is true that such things do not make easy reading, and perhaps the publisher objected; but the benefit to the student of Lewis and Clark that would have resulted from the publication of these data is simply incalculable.[1]

[1] All of this matter is included in the present edition. — ED.

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[1] In the preparation of this Index, the Editor has had throughout the active coöperation of Miss Annie A. Nunns, of the Wisconsin Historical Society's library staff, who has in turn been assisted by Misses Louise Phelps Kellogg and Lillian J. Beecroft, of the same staff. — ED.

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